

320139

JPRS 81811

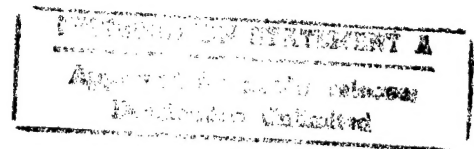
21 September 1982

19981120 192

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 339



DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3

**FBIS**

**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

REPRODUCED BY  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

11  
109  
A06

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

21 September 1982

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 339

## CONTENTS

## PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Colombia Foreign Policy To Stress Independence (XINHUA, 28 Aug 82) .....	1
Delegate Addresses UN Space Conference (Chen Yunqi; Beijing Domestic Service, 25 Aug 82) .....	2
'RENMIN RIBAO' Lauds 'Heroic' Palestinian Fighters (Editorial; RENMIN RIBAO, 27 Aug 82) .....	4
Briefs	
Visiting Swedish Writer	6
S. African Troops To Angola	6

## PARTY AND STATE

Judicial Arguments Must Show Evidence, Just Grounds, Restraint (Shi Rengyi; FAXUE YANJIU, No 2, 1982) .....	7
Campaigns of Taiping Army (Shen Weibin; LISHI YANJIU, 15 Jun 82) .....	11
Heilongjiang Issues Circular on Intensifying Intellectual Work (Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 5 Sep 82) .....	30
Wang Kunlun Praises He Xiangning (Wang Kunlun; RENMIN RIBAO, 26 Aug 82) .....	32
Jilin Strengthens Party Construction (Jilin Provincial Service, 6 Sep 82) .....	37
Liaoning Official on Historic Changes in Modern China (Tang Hongguang; Liaoning Provincial Service, 8 Sep 82).	39

'DAZHONG RIBAO' on Propagating Communist Ideology (Editorial; DAZHONG RIBAO, 25 Aug 82) .....	41
'DAZHONG RIBAO' Urges Having Faith in Communism (DAZHONG RIBAO, 27 Aug 82) .....	45
'LIAONING RIBAO' on Communists, Communism (Qi Yu; LIAONING RIBAO, 29 Aug 82) .....	49
'GUANGMING RIBAO' on People's Congress System (Zhang Shangzhuo; GUANGMING RIBAO, 11 Aug 82) .....	51
Danger of 'Peaceful Evolution' Emphasized (Ding Shi; SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, No 5, 1982) .....	54
PRC Paper Reviews Changes Since 3d Plenary Session (Sun Ruiyuan; QINGNIAN BAO, 24 Aug 82) .....	56
PRC Paper Sees Stabilizing Situation, Unity (Gao Zhiyu; ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 26 Aug 82) .....	61
'Liaowang' on CPC Policy Toward Intellectuals (Xu Minhe, Yang Ruimin; LIAOWANG, 20 Jul 82) .....	64
34th Lecture on Draft Revised Constitution (XINHUA Domestic Service, 30 Aug 82) .....	70
35th Lecture on Draft Revised Constitution (XINHUA Domestic Service, 31 Aug 82) .....	71
Briefs	
Danger of Sugarcoated Bullets	73
Ideological-Political Work	73
Assignment of Retired Cadres	73
Communist Ideological Education	74
SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE	
Health Services Credited for Improving Health in Beijing (Chen Enjia; JIAN KANG BAO, 1 Jul 82) .....	75
Improving Marxism-Leninism Class at Higher Schools Discussed (Zheng Da; JIAOXUE YU YANJIU, No 2, 1982) .....	77
Tasks Undertaken To Clean, Beautify Harbin ([UNKNOWN], 5 Aug 82) .....	83
Present State of Schools of Higher Learning Discussed (LIAOWANG, 20 May 82) .....	89



HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Mao Zedong's Constitution Thought Reviewed (Jin Sikai; MING PAO YUE KAN, No 5, 1982) .....	91
Journal on Hong Kong Editor's Disappearance in PRC (Shih Hua; CHISHIH NIENTAI, Sep 82) .....	97
'CHENG MING's' Version of 'HSIN WAN PAO' Hijack Report (Lo Bing; CHENG MING, 1 Sep 82) .....	100

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COLOMBIA FOREIGN POLICY TO STRESS INDEPENDENCE

OW280852 Beijing XINHUA in English 0813 GMT 28 Aug 82

[Text] Bogota, 27 Aug (XINHUA)--Colombian Foreign Minister Rodrigo Lloreda has declared that the new government will follow a foreign policy of greater independence in order that the country will not be regarded as a satellite of big powers, the paper EL TIEMPO reported today.

In an interview with the paper, the first public statement Lloreda made after he took office, he said that in dealing with big powers, Colombia will make her own decisions in accordance with the "interest of the country, the Andean region, the Latin American group and the international community."

It is beneficial for Colombia to join the non-aligned group, because this will enable her to have dialogues with most of the Third World countries, he stated.

But Colombia's participation in the Non-Aligned Movement does not mean "estrangement from or confrontation with the United States," he added.

Lloreda made it clear that Colombia has decided to join the action committee to support Argentina, which comprises the member states of the Latin American Economic System (SELA). Colombia is shifting from the previous government's position of passive support for Argentina to the present one of active support.

He said that there is little possibility of restoring Colombian-Cuban relations, but Colombia will try to strengthen relations with her neighbors and other countries in the hemisphere.

CSO: 4000/183

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DELEGATE ADDRESSES UN SPACE CONFERENCE

OW310331 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Report by (Chen Yunqi) of U.S. Broadcasting Department entitled: "Second UN Conference on Outer Space"]

[Excerpts] The second UN conference on the exploration and peaceful use of outer space held in Vienna, the capital of Austria, from 9 to 21 August was an important grand conference in the history of outer space activities in the world. The representatives from various governments and international organizations of various countries, renowned scientists and experts in space science and technology and journalists from all parts of the world jubilantly gathered together to discuss how to make the tremendous achievements in the rapid development of space science and technology in the past 25 years serve the peace and interests of the world's peoples.

Zhang Wenjin, chief of the Chinese delegation to the conference and vice foreign minister, said: While devoting itself to developing its economy, China has also exerted certain efforts in the past few years in the exploration and use of outer space. He said: [Begin recording] China has successfully launched 10 satellites since it successfully launched its first Earth satellite into orbit in 1970. It has also successfully retrieved two satellites and launched three satellites with a single carrier rocket. In order to meet the needs in economic construction, we have developed year-by-year satellites for the development of communications, broadcasting, meteorology, natural resources and scientific experiments in a planned manner. [end recording]

Despite these facts, the developed countries have still played a dominant role in the field of space science and technology.

At the second conference on the exploration and peaceful use of outer space, the representatives of many developing countries called for effective measures to break the monopoly of outer space by the "space powers" and change the unreasonable situation in outer space.

If the achievements in the development of space science and technology are used in spurring economic developments in various countries, improving people's living conditions and promoting social progress, they will undoubtedly open a bright future for world peace and for the friendship and progress of the people. However, to achieve this magnificent goal, it is necessary to

adhere to some principles. The speech by Zhang Wenjin, chief of the Chinese delegation, reflected the views of many developing nations. He said: [begin recording] The exploration and use of outer space must serve peace. It must be conducive to developing the economy, science and culture of various nations and to enhancing friendship and cooperation among all countries. In exploring and using outer space, we must take into consideration the interests of various countries, particularly those of the developing countries. In exploring and using outer space, we must take into consideration the interests of various countries, particularly those of the developing countries. We deeply believe that the abovementioned principles are conducive to the peaceful use of outer space. [End recording]

CSO: 4005/1296

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' LAUDS 'HEROIC' PALESTINIAN FIGHTERS

HK271144 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Salute to the Heroic Palestinian Fighters"]

[Text] The Chinese people extend their sincere regards and respects to the heroic and unyielding PLO fighters!

In order to resist the Israeli aggression and defend the national rights of the Palestinian people, the PLO has kept on fighting in Lebanon for 11 years and has expanded its forces in the battles. On 4 June this year, encouraged and supported by the United States, Israel launched a large-scale sudden attack on Lebanon. Despite the great disparity in numbers, the PLO fought a life-or-death battle against the brutal invading Israeli army. The fighting will and the spirit of devotion which the PLO leaders and fighters displayed in the battles, lasting for 11 weeks, command the admiration of the people throughout the world.

Now, in order to save Beirut from destruction, the PLO fighters are pulling out of this city for other Arab countries in accordance with the agreement reached by all parties concerned. This action, taken in the interest of the overall situation, contributes to the peaceful solution of the Lebanon crisis caused by Israel's large-scale invasion.

The PLO has withstood another severe test. By fighting heroically, the PLO fighters have smashed the scheme of the Israeli expansionists to wipe off the national rights of the Palestinian people by wiping out the PLO armed forces. Despite heavy losses, the PLO has preserved its effective strength and gained valuable experience. The road of revolution has never been a straight one. On the road to strive for liberation, the oppressed nations and oppressed people are bound to meet various setbacks. So long as they conscientiously sum up their experiences, both positive and negative, draw the necessary lessons, strengthen their unity and persist in struggle, they are sure to achieve final victory. Now the PLO and its armed forces are pulling out of the bases, where they have insisted on fighting for a long time, for other Arab countries. At this critical juncture, PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasser 'Arafat has called on the fighters to continue their resistance and struggle, and solemnly declared that the Palestinian people would go on

fighting for their national rights. The high morale and strict discipline displayed by the Palestinian fighters during their withdrawal from Beirut fully indicate the invincibility of their revolutionary cause.

The Palestine problem remains the core of the Middle East issue. Failing a reasonable solution to this problem, there could be no peace and stability in the region. Israel's savage invasion of Lebanon has fully exposed the aggressive and expansionist to eliminate the PLO and stamp out the struggle of the Palestinian people for their national rights, but also to put Lebanon under its control. All the evil schemes of the Israeli ruling clique were supported and encouraged by the United States, which cannot evade its responsibility for all the crimes committed by Israel in Lebanon. Now that the PLO and its armed forces are pulling out of Beirut, the United States must make the Israeli aggressor troops withdraw from Lebanon immediately, totally and unconditionally so as to ensure the latter's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Israel must not refuse to withdraw under any pretext nor should it interfere directly or indirectly in the internal affairs of Lebanon. The international community should take this opportunity to bring about a comprehensive, just and durable solution to the Middle East problem.

A just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. The struggle of the Arab people to recover their lost land and that of the Palestinian people to gain back their national rights are a just cause which enjoys the sympathy and support of more and more countries and people in the world. Despite their arrogance, the Israeli expansionists are under heavy fire from the international community and find themselves bitterly isolated. The Chinese people will, as always, stand firmly on the side of the Arab and Palestinian people. We are convinced that the heroism and indomitable revolutionary spirit of the Palestinian people, fostered in protracted and arduous struggle, will be given new dimensions in the new situation. Victory certainly belongs to the Palestinian people, who uphold unity and persist in struggle.

CSO: 4005/1296

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

VISITING SWEDISH WRITER--Beijing, 31 Aug (XINHUA)--Wang Bingnan, president of the Chinese Peoples Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, met and feted Jan Myrdal, honorary president of the Sweden-China Friendship Federation and noted writer, and his wife Gun Kessle here this evening. They had a cordial and friendly talk. [Text] [OW312232 Beijing XINHUA in English 1556 GMT 31 Aug 82]

S. AFRICAN TROOPS TO ANGOLA--Beijing, 1 Sep (XINHUA)--About 30,000 South African troops are massed along the Namibian border ready to mount further attacks on Angola, according to reports reaching here. The Angolan Defense Ministry was quoted as saying that the South African troops, to join the 5,500 who have already invaded the southern Cunene Province of Angola, were equipped with 60 combat planes, an undetermined number of helicopter gunships and 300 armored personnel carriers. Angola first reported that a large South African force had crossed its southern border on July 30. South African military authorities confirmed the invasion on August 11 by announcing that their troops had killed 113 guerrillas of the South West African Peoples Organization at a SWAPO base in Cunene. South Africa claims that its raids into Angola are aimed at wiping out guerrilla bases of SWAPO, which is fighting for the independence of Namibia. [Text] [OW010821 Beijing XINHUA in English 0749 GMT 1 Sep 82]

CSO: 4000/183

## PARTY AND STATE

### JUDICIAL ARGUMENTS MUST SHOW EVIDENCE, JUST GROUNDS, RESTRAINT

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [STUDY OF LAW] in Chinese No 2, 82 pp 26-27

[Article by Shi Fengyi [0670 7364 0308]] "Arguments in Court Must Show Evidence, Just Grounds and Restraint"]

[Text] Following the enforcement of the Criminal Procedure Law, the state promulgated Provisional Regulations Governing Lawyers, thus marking a new phase in our country's construction of its legal system. As the law courts try cases, arguments from two different points of view, one party accusing and one party defending, will expose fully the true facts and enable the court, after having listened to the opinions of both sides, to arrive at a just decision, a method that will improve the quality of court trials. Because it has only been a short time that the courts have been handling cases according to the procedural law, the procuratorial staff and the lawyers are not yet too familiar with their professional duties. All concerned are still learning while performing their duties, and for this reason certain deviations and errors have occurred in argumentations before the courts. Sometimes the arguments have been insufficient and sometimes overdone. In some cases the responsibility was that of the procuratorial staff and in some cases that of the lawyers.

Arguments in court are tests of the quality of procuratorial prosecution and of the lawyers' defenses. They are also tests of the political and professional level of the prosecutors and the lawyers personally as they show themselves in court, and they are also the focal point of judicial work in the eyes of the masses who sit in on court sessions. The manner in which the prosecutors and the lawyers present their arguments in court, how they exercise their professional functions to the fullest, neither being excessive nor deficient, firmly adhering to principles, but just and right in their formulations, that is an important problem, which we must at present sum up and reach a common understanding on.

This question has in some places been summed up as the "four don'ts of arguing": don't argue forcibly, don't argue craftily, don't argue deceitfully and don't argue confusedly. Some legal counselling offices summed it up in "four don'ts of saying": don't say anything detrimental to the accused, don't say anything that runs counter to the interests of the state and the people, don't say anything for which there is no substantial evidence,



don't say anything that ridicules or disparages your opponent. There is of course some value in these experiences, but a stricter and more comprehensive way would be the 6-word formulation that arguments "must show evidence, just grounds, restraint." In my opinion this may be called the 6-word rule of arguing in court. No matter whether it is the procurator or the lawyer, if the party can abide by the 6-word rule when arguing in court, that party's argumentation will be of high quality and in good style, and will truly turn the law court into a good classroom where the people can learn understanding and observation of the law.

#### Evidence

Evidence means to have factual proof. These facts must not be hearsay and gossip, must not be inferences and conjectures, must not be mere generalizations, also not distortions by additions to or exaggerations of the facts, but must be authentic proof of facts which furthermore must be examined as evidence in the presence of the court. Only by arguing on the basis of such irrefutable facts can either procurator or lawyer withstand all attacks and rebuttals and maintain an invincible position. That is one side of the question. Another side is that procurators and lawyers must seek the truth from facts and respect objective facts. There must be no forcible or crafty arguing if the opponent produces well-founded facts and legal and effective evidence.

#### Just Grounds

Just grounds means on the one hand good grounds in law and on the other hand reasonableness.

Acceptable grounds in law means there are fundamental legal principles and concrete legal provisions to be followed. Every law is composed of two parts, one of common character (fundamental principles) and one of specific character (concrete provisions). In the case of criminal law, the general provisions are the part of common character, as they prescribe the common requirements that constitute criminality and other common characteristics relating to the determination of guilt and the measure of punishment. The specific provisions are the part of specific character which fixes the various requirements that constitute the different specific crimes and the extent to which punishment is to be meted out. The general provisions are a guide for the specific provisions, and the general provisions together with the specific provisions form one organic entity. The fundamental principles are the soul of the law, they embody the legislative spirit, and the application of the law must take these principles as a guide. However, the fundamental principles must also have found expression in concrete provisions; only if there are provisions in law, can there be a conviction for a crime and punishment. The procurators and the lawyers must have a clear-cut legal viewpoint and must base their arguments on the fundamental principles of the law and at the same time apply the exact concrete provisions of the law, thus showing a correct understanding of the law as a whole and correctly apply it as a whole. The distinction whether a person is guilty or not, whether his crime is serious or not, whether punishment is to be reduced or increased, whether a

crime should be punished leniently or with severity, must always take the law as its gauge. Any thesis that is divorced from the law is untenable.

Reasonableness means conforming with the standards of socialist morality. Different classes have their distinctly different moral standards. Every country recognizes only the morality of the ruling class and opposes and restricts the morality of other classes. The morality of our country expresses the will of the proletariat and of the working people, it is socialist morality. All acts that conform with the socialist morality we consider as reasonable, and we cannot consider as reasonable the backward traditional customs and old viewpoints that reflect the will of the exploiting classes. For instance, in a case of the murder of an adulteress, we would not consider it within the bounds of reasonableness if the husband concerned, basing on some right of a husband, would kill his wife. In our country, generally speaking, any criminal act that violates the criminal law is also an act that seriously violates socialist morality. Punishment of a criminal act must be based on criminal law, and it would seem to have no relation to morality. However, there is always a question of special circumstances in every crime, and these circumstances actually contain moral factors. On the question of differentiating between extenuating or aggravating circumstances our criminal law has provisions written into some of the articles of the law, indicating which circumstances demand leniency and which demand severity, but in some cases no such concrete provisions can be found in the articles themselves. In such cases the standards of socialist morality must be used in meting out punishment. Under ordinary circumstances an act that violates criminal law will be one in which the circumstances also severely violate socialist morality. However, there are also exceptional circumstances when the act itself violates the criminal law, but manifests certain factors, such as the motive or the purpose of the crime, which do not conflict with the demands of socialist morality and are therefore still within the bounds of reasonableness. When applying the law at such times one may consider the reasonableness of the action as an extenuating factor and treat the case with leniency. If a youngster has become an irredeemable hoodlum, irresponsible to the admonitions of the head of his family, and the family head in a fit of rage hits and injures the youngster, the family head has in fact committed a crime of inflicting bodily injury, but in consideration of the circumstances his punishment should be reduced or he should be altogether exempted from punishment.

### Restraint

Restraint means convincing people by reasoning and the exercise of moderation. In one's arguments one must uphold principles and not yield on points of basic views, but one must also not overdo it. One must not, after getting one's due, not release the opponent or engage in an endless hot pursuit. The purpose of arguments in court is to bring out the facts and to clarify right and wrong. They are arguments concerned with facts and reasons. The purpose is not to have a row or to inflict suffering on someone. As soon as right and wrong has been clarified, there is to be no further endless squabbling. Flaunting one's superiority and trying to outshine others, regarding winning

or losing as a measure of high or low ideology, is wrong. In presenting arguments one must display high standards and a high work style. As soon as the basic questions have been clarified, there should be no need for lengthy entanglements in minor questions or quarrel over a few words and phrases. Argumentation which seeks momentary gratification by exploiting circumstances unfavorable to the opponent, that hotly pursues and fiercely attacks the opponent, that is a rebuttal to inflict cuts and bruises on your opponent and drive him into an extremely awkward position, cannot be considered good or successful argumentation. On the contrary, such argumentation would precisely illustrate a rather low consciousness and low work style of the procurator or lawyer concerned. The procuratorial staff and the lawyers must never forget that despite the different functions performed by each, the overall objective is identical, namely to punish criminals, protect good people and safeguard the correct enforcement of the country's laws.

Basing decisions on facts and being guided by law is the fundamental principle for our country's judicial activities; it is a manifestation of the standpoint and view of dialectic materialism. The various departments charged with judicial work, all the various sectors and various activities concerned must uphold this fundamental principle. Showing evidence, just grounds and restraint are precisely the concretization in the arguments before the court of the judicial guiding principle of basing decisions on the evidence of facts and being guided by law. Showing evidence means basing decisions on actual facts; to have just grounds means to accept the law as one's guideline; restraint means to adopt the correct attitude. These three things are linked into one inseparable chain, not a single one of the three can be dispensed with. Having evidence and no just grounds is useless. In fact if one seems well-grounded in facts, but cannot make clear how these facts are to be evaluated in legal and moral terms, the argumentation would still fail to grasp the crucial point. It is also useless to have just grounds but no evidence. Engaging in empty talk on legal principles or discoursing on articles of the law, without substantial facts as proof, would be an argumentation just like building castles in the air, unable to stand up against rebuttal or further investigation. If one has evidence as well as just grounds, but the wrong attitude, if one would allow oneself to be swayed by personal feelings, or even start out with the idea of inflicting suffering on someone, if one is all out to drive one's opponent to perdition, that would in fact indicate that one has divorced oneself from the standpoint of the state and of the people. It would harm the reputation of the judicial personnel and find no sympathy among the masses. It is therefore only by a complete observance of the 6-word rule of "having evidence, just grounds and restraint" that the procuratorial staff and the lawyers can fully and correctly exercise their professional functions and thus completely satisfactorily and correctly shoulder the sacred mandate entrusted to them by the state and the people.

9808

CSO: 4005/947

## PARTY AND STATE

### CAMPAIGNS OF TAIPING ARMY

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [Historical Researches] in Chinese, No 3, 1982, 15 Jun 82, pp 83-93

[Article by Shen Weibin [3088 3262 3454]: "A Study of the Taiping's Second Campaign to Destroy the Qing's Great Camp South of the Yangtze River"]

[Text] In the later period of the Heavenly Kingdom, the second campaign to destroy the Qing's Great Camp south of the Yangtze River, from February to May 1860, was a strategically skilful and brilliantly executed campaign. It lifted the protracted siege of the Heavenly Capital by the Qing army, but at the same time brought with it certain unfavorable factors in the overall strategic situation of the Taiping army. In the past, quite a number of scholars have pointed out the positive significance of the victory in this campaign, but its negative aspects have frequently been overlooked. The present article discusses this campaign with particular emphasis on assessing its successes and failures in the overall strategic situation. I hope to receive everybody's comments and corrections.

1. Determining the Battlefield Situation and the Strategic Policy During the Second Campaign to Destroy the Great Camp South of the Yangtze River in the Later Period of the Taiping Army.

After the 1856 disorders in the Heavenly Capital, the strategic situation in the Heavenly Kingdom gradually deteriorated. On the western front, the Qing army seized the opportunity to capture Wuchang, Jiujiang and other strategically important cities of Jiangxi, that had constituted a protective screen for the Heavenly Capital on the upper reaches of the Yangtze, and step by step closed in on the Heavenly Capital, with enemy armies even threatening Anqing, the strategically important bulwark protecting the Heavenly Capital. On the eastern front, the Great Camp of the Qing army south of the Yangtze was digging long trenches and consolidating its encirclement of the Heavenly Capital. They also attacked Zhenjiang and Guazhou, two points in the protective defenses downstream. The troops from the camp north of the Yangtze occupied Pukou, thus threatening the grain supply line through Pukou to the capital. Freely loitering and galloping around or the easy coming and going of the early period of the Taiping army had become a thing of the past "like a wilted flower."

In 1858 the Taiping army fought the battles of Pukou and Sanhe, destroyed the Great Camp north of the Yangtze, annihilated the army of Li Xubin and dealt the enemy forces serious blows on both the eastern and the western front. The declining trend on the battlefield again turned and became generally favorable for the Taiping army, who could "somewhat stand on its own feet again," but the defensive posture in its strategy had not changed at all.

When 1859 began, the situation on the eastern front again deteriorated. First, the Great Camp south of the Yangtze had completed a long moat which encircled the Heavenly Capital on three sides and left for the Heavenly Capital "only one road open, through Pukou, where carts could bring in grain and rice to relieve the needs of the capital."<sup>2</sup> Closely following this state of affairs, Li Zhaoshou, who had defected from the Taiping army, moved his troops down in the east and caused Xue Zhiyuan, whose sobriquet was Da-tian-yu and who garrisoned Jiangpu, to defect too to the Qing side, so that Jiangpu and Pukou fell into the hands of the enemy. This cut the line of grain supply for the Heavenly Kingdom, and the citizens of the capital became terrified. When Li Xiucheng at Huangshan heard of this turn of events, he rushed back with his army in great haste. When Chen Yucheng received the war news of the critical condition at Jiangpu and Pukou, he was forced to move his troops, then campaigning in central Anhui, toward the east to join Li Xiucheng in the military operations at Jiangpu and Pukou. The fighting was protracted, lasting from the beginning of March to the end of the year, when success was finally theirs. Though the grain supply line had been reopened, the encirclement of the Heavenly Capital by the Qing troops based on the Great Camp south of the river still endured.

Although not as dangerous and disastrous as the eastern front, the western front held great hidden dangers. After the battle of Sanhe, the fierce onslaught of the Xiang army was broken, but Zeng Guofan had not given up his plan to capture Anqing. At the end of 1859, when the Xiang army had regained its vigor, he seized the opportunity that offered when Chen Yucheng's main force had left Anhui for Suzhou, to join up with Hu Linyi's Chu army to attack Anqing from four directions, and after clean-up operations at Tongcheng, Shucheng and Luzhou to clear the outer surroundings, the situation at Anqing grew more critical by the day.

As this situation presented itself on the battlefield, the strategic plan to lift the siege of the capital by a second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze was worked out in repeated consultations, lasting from the latter part of December 1859 to the middle of January of the next year, between Hong Rengan, the Gan Wang, who administered all government affairs, and Li Xiucheng, the Zhong Wang, who was second in command. The main substance of the plan was told in "Hong Rengan's Confession"; "It will be difficult to do anything about the present siege of the capital unless Huzhou and Hangzhou, which are unguarded, are attacked. When the enemy finds the rear threatened, they are sure to fall back on Hangzhou and Huzhou in order to save those places, and in such case the army sent in that direction can return with all speed, and the rescue of the capital will be a certainty."

How are we to assess this plan? How are we to determine its nature? As a plan of campaign, in the way it imitated the old story of "encircling Wei to rescue Zhao," in the way it applied the strategic idea of "deception,"<sup>3</sup> in the way it carried out the strategy of striking at the enemy to achieve a rescue, in order to gain the strategic objective of lifting the siege of the capital, and with respect to other points of strategy, it was an ingenious and brilliant plan. Considering the effective result of its execution, the Taiping army while operating according to this plan, while feigning to be far when approaching their objective, in attacking the enemy where they were least prepared and where they had least expected it, in the unpredictable variations of concentration and division of forces, and in achieving the battle objective that had been set, it had indeed proven to be a successful plan of operation.

However, if it is assessed within the framework of the overall strategic position, it shows that it was not a decision for a strategic offensive and also not a plan that took full account of the overall military situation.

First of all, the Taiping army was kept in check by the Qing army in all places on the eastern and western front. Apart from the army of Li Xiucheng stationed at Pukou, there was Chen Yucheng in Anhui contending with the Chu army, Yang Fuqing deadlocked in his fight with the Xiang army at Yinjiahui in Chizhou Prefecture, Li Shixian being held up by the Qing army at Nanling and Wanchi, and in the Heavenly Capital, "stocks of grain at the Imperial Court ran short," owing to the encirclement by the Great Camp south of the river. With respect to military strength, material conditions and military options, the Taiping army lacked all the conditions to return to the offensive. The second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze can only be considered to be of the nature of a desperate defense. To call it "a strategy of returning to an offensive phase" is obviously an optimistic assessment divorced from the overall war situation.

Next, even though continued existence of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze was a major threat to the Heavenly Capital, the military discipline among the little more than 70,000 soldiers in the Great Camp had utterly broken down, "the generals are arrogant and the soldiers lazy, indulging all day in drinking and frivolities."<sup>4</sup> Only the army group under Zhang Guoliang was in fighting trim. As long as the grain supply line could be kept open, the encirclement of the Heavenly Capital was not a cause for any particular anxiety within the overall situation. When Li Xiucheng left Pukou for Wuhan to organize the second campaign for the destruction of the Great Camp south of the river, Zhang Guolinag took advantage of the situation to capture the defensive positions outside Pukou close to the river and the area around Jiufuzhou, and bottled up the Heavenly Capital "as if in an iron cask."<sup>5</sup> Hu Linyi once described the situation as follows: "It is still too early for successes in the southeast. Each of us acts as he wishes and takes no notice of the others." Although this was spoken in the context of an internal strife among the enemy, it expressed well the place of importance of the eastern front in the overall strategic situation. If we consider it in connection with the fruitless efforts since 1853 of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze in its attempts to encircle the Heavenly Capital,

the above statement by Hu need not be taken purely as satirical. Judged in the context of the overall situation on the battlefields, the truly formidable opponent of the Taiping army was not principally the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, but the Xiang army that was about to encircle and attack Anqing. The concentration of all attention on the Great Camp south of the Yangtze-- as we see shown by the Taiping high command, reflects in actual fact the conservative ideology in military matters that prevailed after the disorders at the Heavenly Capital. As we admit that ever since the capture of Nanjing in 1853, the aggressiveness in the ideology of the leadership of the Heavenly Kingdom, with Hong Xiuquan as its representative, gradually diminished and its conservatism increased, we see Hong Xiuquan's dream of emperor, of being "venerable elder brother ruler over the empire for millenia" seriously jolted by the situation on the eastern front, where the Qing forces repeatedly attacked the Heavenly Kingdom. Consequently, preserving the Heavenly Capital and lifting the siege of the capital became the guiding ideology of Hong Xiuquan and people like Li Xiucheng. The military operations of the Taiping army during the time from the battles at Sanhe, Hankou and Henan in November 1853 to the battles for Jingpu and Pukou in 1859 were almost all battles to lift the siege of the Heavenly Capital. According to Li Xiucheng's recollections in his "Confession" there were five battles on a relatively large scale, which goes to show that the conservative thinking had indeed grown stronger and seriously restrained and influenced military action. Since the Heavenly Capital was the symbol of the Heavenly Kingdom, it had of course to be rescued from its encirclement. However, looking at it from the angle of directing the overall operations, there should have been a strategic focal point and the military strength should not have been whittled away by rushing about this way and that way trying to preserve the Heavenly Capital without consideration for the situation as a whole. Li Xiucheng later pointed out with deep feelings of remorse, when summing up the "ten errors of the Heavenly Dynasty" in his "Confession:" "We should not have concentrated on defending the Heavenly Capital by withdrawing troops from other parts." This was indeed a valuable lesson drawn from a summing up of the pains of defeat, and it reflects the danger of a conservative mentality in military affairs. Hong Rengan was originally a scholarly type, and military affairs were not his forte. He did not administer the affairs of the dynasty for a long time and lacked the force of character for the control of the situation as a whole. Although Li Xiucheng had been a promising young man, he did not possess the competence for overall command and also lacked experience for this task. It is logical and understandable that they focussed all attention on rescuing the capital from its encirclement. This strategy was therefore a product of a conservative ideology. From all this we see that the statement "the decision to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze was absolutely correct, looking at it strategically," seems to pay attention only to the one side, namely the need to lift the siege of the Heavenly Capital, but ignores the conservative trend that was growing increasingly stronger in the Taiping leadership, and it places too high a value on the strategic thinking of the high command.

On the basis of the above facts I believe that the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, considered as a campaign, did possess the character of active defense by offensive attack, but as



one phase within the strategy as a whole, it still did not exceed the limits of a passive defense.

## 2. The Conduct of the Campaign and the Special Features of Its Military Tactics

The conduct of the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze comprises the three organic phases of the campaign sequence: troop disposition, start of combat action and actual battle.

As to troop disposition, it is now very difficult to collate and clarify this owing to the scarcity of presently available material. On the whole the advance was in two formations, one under the supreme command and one under the campaign command. Sometime early in February 1860, the supreme command at the Heavenly Capital sent an official communication to the main forces of the Taiping army, namely to Chen Yucheng, Yang Fuqing, Liu Guanfang, Lai Wenhong and Gu Longxian, ordering them to advance from Chizhou in an attack on the Qing forces in Anhui, the Nanjing area and in Zhejiang, "to execute the plan of 'encircling Wei to rescue Zhao,' and then to wait till the Great Camp will be depleted of troops, to launch the final attack,"<sup>6</sup> in which all the mentioned generals should join. At the same time Li Xiucheng hurried to Wuhu to organize the army under Li Shixian for the diversionary attack. In doing so he broke with the conventional practice of first concentrating the troops before leading them forth into action, as he was rushed for time.

Li Xiucheng and Li Shixian were to leave Wuhu in the first part of February 1860 to execute the war plan, and in a space of a little over 80 days, on April 29, they reached by various routes the place of battle. The two stages of "carrying out a diversionary attack on Huzhou and Hangzhou" and "turning back to rescue one's own positions" were then to be completed one after the other.

The first stage, from the time the armies of Li Xiucheng and Li Shixian moved out from Wuhu until their occupation of Hangzhou on 19 March, was a kind of long-range raid which occupied the objective of the diversionary attack in execution of the main idea of the campaign, namely "to threaten the rear of the enemy by taking Huzhou and Hangzhou which were unguarded." The tactics of this campaign were in particular to make oneself visible to the enemy and lure the enemy out of his lair.

During this stage the tactical intentions of the Taiping army were discovered by the enemy because they intercepted a message on troop movements issued by the Heavenly Capital high command.<sup>7</sup> He-chun, having captured Jiufuzhou, was intent on encirclement and capture of the Heavenly Capital,<sup>8</sup> and did not mind Li Xiucheng's advance toward Huizhou and Hangzhou. However, the Qing Court became highly perturbed by the eastward threat to Huzhou and Hangzhou by the Taiping army. When Li Xiucheng's army camped at Ningguo, the emperor instructed He-chung to send "crack troops from among the various camps north and south of Jinling" as reinforcements. He-chung thus could not but send 2,000 men to Gaochun to observe the enemy's activities. This was the beginning of the depletion of the Great Camp. On 24 February, Li Xiucheng



captured Guangde, and He-chun, pressed by further orders from the Qing Court, could not but order the relief detachment at Gaochun to move south, and in addition sent another 4,000 men to garrison Gaochun. On 3 March, the Taiping army captured Si'an, and again the Qing Court urgently ordered He-chun to send more troops "to rush to the rescue," which forced He-chun to despatch Provincial Commander Zhang Yuliang, Brigade General Xiong Tianxi and Deputy General Xiang Kui with over 6,500 men as further reinforcement to Zhejiang. He also ordered Deputy General Zeng Bingzhong and others with over 3,000 land and water forces with 60 war junks "to move speedily from Suzhou and Changzhou to Huzhou to blockade the river and suppress the bandits."<sup>10</sup> The Governor General of the Jiangnan Provinces He Kuiqing also sent over 1,000 men of his soldiers and 100 "large dragon boats" to assist in the attack.<sup>11</sup> It shows that enemy attitudes toward a defense of Zhejiang Province differed. Emperor Xianfeng was intent on protecting Zhejiang and wanted He-chun to divert troops for its protection. He-chun was more intent on encircling and capturing the Heavenly Capital, and was not at all keen on sending reinforcements elsewhere. The Taiping army by making an appearance at Huzhou and Hangzhou, led the central authorities of the Qing Dynasty by the nose, and step by step lured the effective strength of the Great Camp out of its nest. By the time the Taiping army occupied Si'an, the Qing army had moved out over 20,000 men. As a result "military strength at the Great Camp was down to less than 40,000 and these were either intractable or tired and feeble men,"<sup>12</sup> so that the objective of luring the enemy out of his lair had been fundamentally realized.

The second stage, from 24 March, when the Taiping army began to withdraw from Hangzhou, to 29 April, when the various groups of the main force had moved back into battle positions, was an important stage in the campaign. To organize the retreat at the opportune moment and concentrate the main force, a general meeting was arranged at Jianping, planning elimination of the outer defenses of the Great Camp and "return to rescue the own positions." From the time of moving out from Jianping to the time that the various groups of the main force took up battle positions, the Taiping tactics showed the following particular features:

Firstly, concentration of a superior force. The Taiping supreme command had moved into action over 100,000 crack troops in separate army groups. The battle command again employed the tactic of advancing simultaneously on different routes and attacking from different directions, so that powerful momentum in a coordinated and well-ordered way was created during the progress of the battle. The Qing Government, from central authority down to their local officials, became confused and disoriented by the Taiping tactics of "besieging Wei to rescue Zhao," and made many ill-advised moves.

Secondly, elimination of outer defense positions of the enemy and tightening the encirclement. According to the plan of attack determined at Jianping, the various groups of the Taiping main force launched their attack from three directions at the same time, from east, west and south, step by step pressing on toward the Great Camp. The central group under Yang Fuqing and Liu Guanfang occupied Dongba on 11 April as a prelude to the battle of

the outer defenses. Subsequently, Gaochun and Lishui were taken, destroying the first defensive line of the Great Camp. On 23 April, Molingguan was taken, whereupon the army split into two groups, the group under Yang Fuqing and Huang Wenjin forming the left wing of the central army group, and Liu Guanfang and Chen Kunshu forming the right wing of the central army group. On 29 April they took Yuhuatai and Gaoqiaomen, cutting off the southern communication line of the Great Camp. The right army group under Li Xiucheng and Li Shixian captured Liyang on 13 April, then again split into two groups. Li Shixian, forming the right wing of the right army group, moved south toward Changzhou, capturing Jurong. "With the capture of Jurong, the enemy's communication line to the rear was cut."<sup>13</sup> Li Xiucheng formed the left wing of the right army group and marched directly against Chunhua. On 28 April he and the army groups of Li Shixian and Yang Fuqing inflicted a heavy defeat on the Qing army under Zhang Guoliang, occupied Chunhua and camped at the hills of Jingshan. The Great Camp had lost all its strong points on the line from Gaozi to Shiqiaofou, and this cut off their escape route to the northeast. The left army group under Chen Yucheng, on receiving orders to join the battle, started to move on 6 March, passed through Luzhou, Quanjiao, Chuzhou, and on 29 April crossed the Yangtze from Xiliangshan, passed through Dongliangshan, turned north through Dangtu, Banqiao, Touguan, went up to Shanqiao and blocked any possibility for the Qing army from the Great Camp to escape toward the west by crossing the Yangtze. Up to that time the Taiping army had completely eliminated all outer defense points of the Great Camp, and had achieved the tactical victory of a complete concerted encirclement of the enemy.

Thirdly- alternating sham and real attacks and changing back and forth between separate and combined actions. The attacks by the Taiping army in their assault on the outer fortifications were at times feints and at times real. The three army groups of the main force acted at times jointly and at times separately, such changes being unpredictable, and they achieved victory by surprise moves. When Li Shixian moved south toward Changzhou, he also had army groups seemingly attacking Yixing and Danyang, but these were feints. He Guiqing made an error in judgement when he quickly despatched Qing troops to Changzhou as reinforcements, leaving Jurong unguarded, so that the Taiping army was able to capture it. Li Xiucheng took advantage of He Guiqing having pulled out his troops and in a real attack moved from Liyang directly to Chishanhu for an attack on Chunhua. By the time He Guiqing found out that Li Shixian was merely covering up, Li Xiucheng was already deploying for an attack on Chunhua. The central army group under Yang Fuqing and Liu Guanfang were at first united in their attack on Molingguan, they separated for an abrupt attack on Yuhuatai and Gaoqiaomen, and subsequently again combined with the right army group in the encirclement and attack on Chunhua and Ma'anshan, leaving the commanders of the Qing army in a quandary about what to do. This tactic of the Taiping army of surprise movements to defeat the opponent was called by the enemy, in regretful admission: "Luring the enemy by a show of weakness, but establishing a concealed concerted encirclement; charging a strong position by having a separate detachment mount a surprise attack to divert and split the enemy strength."<sup>14</sup>

The battle lasted from 2 to 6 May and was basically a speedy battle, speedily concluded. With a coordinated action by the garrison of the Heavenly Capital, the three army corps of the main Taiping force launched a general attack from ten directions. The left wing of the Great Camp was the first to be breached by the left army corps of the Taiping army under Chen Yucheng. In the night of the 5th, He-chun and Zhang Guoliang led their routed army in an escape through Maxiangkou toward Zhenjiang. On the 6th, the Great Camp was thoroughly destroyed and the battle objective triumphantly realized.

A summary review of the whole progression of the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze shows it to be on such a large scale, with such a long history and with such a great variety of tactics as to be an outstanding example of a military action, not only in the military history of the Heavenly Kingdom, but in all of modern Chinese military history. The campaign demonstrated the excellent quality of the Taiping army in campaigning and in combat and the brilliant strategic talent of the battle command.

### 3. The Gain and Loss From the Second Campaign to Destroy the Great Camp South of the Yangtze Seen in the Framework of the Overall Strategic Situation and Its Effects

The second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze was of the greatest significance for the overall strategic situation during the later period of the Taiping army. The result of the battle victory was that the strategic stronghold of the Qing army on the eastern front was destroyed, and that the thorn which had been firmly embedded in their side since March 1853, namely the camp in the outskirts of the Heavenly Capital, was radically removed. The protracted encirclement of the Heavenly Capital was completely lifted, and the destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze foiled the Qing Dynasty's original policy of "a pincer attack from the upper and lower sides and a concerted assault from north and south,"<sup>15</sup> forcing the Qing army at the eastern front to change from an offensive to a defensive strategy. For a time the enemy supreme command lapsed into improper decisions and ill-advised moves and had no choice but to rely heavily on Zeng Guofan and his Xiang army, which had far-reaching effects on the organizational system and the political power structure of the Qing army. As a result of this battle, "the fame of the Taiping army increased greatly."<sup>16</sup> Not only was the picture of an unfavorable strategic position on the eastern front completely changed, but on the western front it was now possible with the concentrated military strength to change from the passive defensive stance to an active defense against the Xiang and Chu armies.

Just as everything else in this world has a dual character, the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze had its weaknesses and shortcomings. Owing to an excessively high estimation of the fighting strength of the Qing army in the Great Camp, the Taiping army supreme command, by concentrating its military strength on this battle, neglected an organic coordination of the eastern and western fronts. The supreme command of the

Heavenly Capital transferred the main strength of Chen Yucheng's army to the east to join the battle, but thereby inappropriately reduced the military strength on the western front, so that the military strength on the western front became extremely weak, and this again seriously affected the combat effectiveness of the Taiping army. This was an extremely inexpedient disposition. Looking instead at the enemy side we see Zeng Guofan highly competent in overseeing the situation as a whole and very cunningly exploiting any favorable opportunity on the battlefield brought about by a strategic coordination of the Qing troops on the eastern and western front, with immediate strategic decisions based on this insight. As early as when Chen Yucheng, together with Li Xiucheng, fought the battle for Jingpu and Pukou, Zeng Guofan submitted to the Qing Court the following plan which indeed took in the overall situation:

"It is my opinion that to expand and clean up in all directions, it is necessary first to capture Jinling....To seize Jinling, we must first station a large contingent of troops at Chuzhou and Hezhou, only then can we advance to the outer defenses of Jinling and cut the grain supply line to Wuhu. If we want to station troops at Chuzhou and Hezhou, we must first encircle Anqing, destroy the old lair of rebel Chen and simultaneously destroy Luzhou from where rescue is bound to come for re-el Chen. If we really can lay siege to these two places and seize the neighboring counties, the said rebel will have to be prepared for much and will have to split his forces, therefore will not only desist from invading Shandong and Henan to the north, but will also not dare to have any designs on Jiangpu and Liuhe to the east."<sup>17</sup>

Zeng Guofan followed this up by cooperating with the Chu army in an advance toward the east on four routes. In February 1860, the Xiang and Chu armies began offensive operations against Taihu, Qianshan, Shucheng and other places, and the danger for Anqing gradually became apparent. However, the Heavenly Capital supreme command did not pay attention to its and ordered Chen Yucheng's main force to relinquish Anhui to join the battle in the east. Chen Yucheng had no choice but to lead his main force under Wu Ruxiao and Liu Canglin to the east. Zeng Guofan seized this opportunity by having the Zeng Guoquan army corps of the Xiang army close in on Anqing. The commander of the Taiping forces in Anqing, Ye Yunlai, was thus left in a very precarious position to defend the city with an isolated force. It shows that concentrating military forces requires much knowledge. In the disposition of its troops during the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, the Taiping supreme command displayed the shortcoming of attending to one thing while losing sight of another. This planted the seed for the trouble to come, namely the loss of Anqing.

Next, owing to the strategic thinking of the Taiping supreme command being fixed on protecting the Heavenly Capital by all means, the objective of this time's battle was set too restrictedly merely on lifting the siege, and not on wiping out the enemy. As a result, the battle for the second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze failed to end with a phase of pursuit. It was a battle to put the enemy to flight, but not a battle of annihilation. Generally speaking, an offensive battle "will win

the real fruits of victory only in pursuit. By its very nature, pursuit tends to be a more integral part of the action in an offensive battle than in a defensive one."<sup>18</sup> When on 5 May the Taiping army won its great victory in its frontal attack and on both wings, and when He-chun and Zhang Guoliang escaped toward Zhenjinag, breaking through the encirclement at Mixangkou, Li Xiucheng did not order a pursuit. The next day the battle was declared concluded. At the end of this battle, so painstakingly organized, there came only as a result that "He and Zhang's armies lost between 3,000 and 5,000 killed, but many more were scattered;"<sup>19</sup> the enemy could not be thoroughly annihilated. The ousted troops from the Great Camp fled to Zhenjiang and moved on to the southeast. We cannot but declare this an unwise strategy of the Taiping army.

The above-stated favorable and unfavorable factors influencing the war situation at that time existed simultaneously. If the Taiping supreme command could have further developed its strong points and avoided its shortcomings, would have fully exploited the favorable conditions created by their victory--the enemy on the eastern front on the defensive, unable to stage a powerful attack--and would have overcome the negative factors, the war situation in the later period would certainly have taken a course favorable for the Taiping army. However, the leadership group of the Heavenly Kingdom was inapt at handling its affairs. Swayed by their battle victories, they made mistakes in judgement and policy decisions, allowing the favorable factors brought about by their victory to be dissipated and the unfavorable factors and negative aspects to grow in a pernicious way.

In an atmosphere of celebrations, the Heavenly Capital supreme command called a military conference to discuss the next step "to pursue the sound strategy." At the conference there was disagreement as to the direction of the basic thrust of the Taiping army. Hong Rengan, backed by Li Xiucheng, set forth a strategic plan for the administration of Jiangsu and Zhejiang and for the seizure of Wuhan in the west:

"In the first place, the distance from the Heavenly Capital to Shaanxi and Sichuan in the west, the Great Wall in the north, Yunnan, Guangdong and Guangxi in the south, is altogether between 5,000 and 6,000 li; whereas to Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai in the east it is less than 1,000 li. There being such a difference in distance, riding on victories, there is a greater probability of success in this direction. As soon as the lower road is gained, the next thing will be to spend 1 million taels and purchase about 20 steamers and send them up the Yangtze River. At the same time let one body of troops penetrate Jiangxi from the south, let another enter Qizhou and Huangzhou from the north, and having formed a junction, let them make a combined movement on Hubei. This will secure us both banks of the Tangtze from which to act in the future."<sup>20</sup>

Most students of the subject will consider this concept a "completely correct strategy," but actually a more penetrating analysis will show that it is a mistaken policy.

Firstly, according to this strategic concept, the Taiping army's supreme command made the capture of Suzhou and Hangzhou its first strategic objective and the westward campaign against Hubei its secondary objective. If we assume that the westward expedition was for the purpose of relieving Anqing from its dangerous position, then, viewed from the strategic situation of those days, the said concept would be turning primary and secondary concerns upside down and would be an improper assessment of what is less and what is more important. Although Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai were downstream from the Heavenly Capital, had an extensive hinterland with an abundant production and their possession could have solved the grain and logistics problems of the Taiping army, and could have provided the Heavenly Capital with a strategic support point, these places, on the other hand, were the major strongholds of Chinese and foreign counterrevolutionaries, with extremely well-developed land and water communications, and, as far as strategy was concerned, places that the enemy would certainly have contested, and, as far as tactics were concerned, places that might be easily captured, but would have been difficult to hold. Furthermore, these places were not contiguous to the main territory occupied by the Taiping army and even if captured would have certainly become a second front and in the end created the unhappy condition of having to divide the military forces. Weighing the pros and cons, the disadvantages would certainly outweigh the benefits. Especially if viewed from the standpoint of principal strategic tasks of the Taiping army at that juncture, the major task was not to open up new bases, but consisted in concentrating all strength on the rescue of Anqing, the Heavenly Capital's only defense outpost on the upper reaches of the Yangtze, from its imminent peril. Anqing "was the key to the Heavenly Capital and guaranteed its safety. Once it was taken by the demons, it would be made into a basis for attacks against us...."21 As long as Anqing was intact, the Heavenly Capital was proof against danger." Since Hong Rengan was so well aware of the importance of Anqing, it cannot be said that the Taiping were right, judging from the overall strategic situation, to place the rescue of Anqing from its siege into a position of secondary importance.

Secondly, a strategic disposition according to this conceptual plan, which intended to carry out a westward expedition only after the capture of Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai, could not possibly achieve the lifting of the siege of Anqing, whether timewise or policy-wise. As to time, there would seem to have been no objection if the western expedition were executed immediately after the capture of Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai, for which a time limit of 1 month was set. A number of students of the subject also thought that if Li Xiucheng could have resolutely carried out the decision of the supreme command and after 1 month turned round for a western expedition, it would have induced the Xiang and Chu armies to send part of their forces to the rescue of Wuchang, and the siege of Anqing would have been lifted without a fight. However, this is a subjective conjecture which overlooks two basic facts: one, that the eastern campaign could not possibly achieve its objective within 1 month. The eastern campaign started on 15 May and according to the order of the supreme command would have had to be concluded on 15 June. On that day the army group under Li Xiucheng was just engaged in an attack on Kunshan and was still quite a distance away from Shanghai, not to mention Hangzhou. Obviously, the time limit of 1 month set by Hong



Xiuquan, the Heavenly King, for the capture of Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai was an unrealistic and rash decision. Thus a sharp contradiction arose between the war objectives of the eastern campaign and the time limit set to achieve the objectives. The actual achievement of the campaign objectives would have certainly violated the order to return within 1 month, while the execution of the order to return within 1 month would certainly have meant giving up all or some of the campaign objectives set by the supreme command. In this dilemma, Li Xiucheng decided for the former alternative. After occupying Kunshan on June 15, he kept on advancing on Shanghai.

Although it is said that he followed some personal ambitions in doing so, it had not been altogether his own proposition.<sup>22</sup> The other fact that people overlooked was that there was also a contradiction between the time needed for a western expedition against Wuchang and the Situation at Anqing where relief to lift the siege was urgently awaited. Even if Li Xiucheng would have strictly carried out the order to return within 1 month and would have returned from Kunshan on June 15, to start on the western expedition, it would have taken him at least 3 months,<sup>23</sup> that is, he would have reached Wuchang only in the later part of September 1860, but by that time Anqing would already have been in extreme danger. Not only had its outer defenses fallen, but the vanguard of the Xiang army had already reached Jixianguan. Moreover, Zeng Guofan had in the meantime been appointed Governor General of Laingjiang, in charge of all land and water forces north and south of the Yangtze. In this situation it was already very doubtful whether the Taiping army could have launched an attack against the encirclement of Anqing that could have repelled the enemy. It shows us that timewise all chances of success were lost by designating the eastward campaign as first war objective and relegating the relief of Anqing by a westward campaign to capture Wuchang to secondary war objective.

Strategy-wise, Zeng Guofan had long ago designated Anqing as his strategic objective and was determined to attain it. There was nothing that would have made him lift the siege on his own accord. After the destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, the Qing Court was afraid the Taiping army would be ordered to march eastward, the area south of the Yangtze would be lost and the supply lines cut. They instructed Zeng Guofan repeatedly to send a detachment of his troops to the relief of Suzhou and Changzhou. However, Zeng Guofan tactfully refused to follow the order of his emperor. He neither wanted to spare any of his troops and even less to lift the siege. Before Suzhou and Changzhou were lost, he gave as reason for not sending a detachment to the rescue in the east, that his forces were too weak and "the bandit strength at this time still strong." After Suzhou and Changzhou were lost, he claimed with even greater emphasis that "this one army at Anqing is of important significance for the whole situation in the Huainan area, and its actions will foreshadow the future recapture of Jinling,"<sup>24</sup> so that the siege of Anqing "must not be rashly lifted." Later, when Li Xiucheng camped at Yixian during the second western expedition and great fear gripped the Xiang army camp at Qimen, some people urged Zeng Guoquan, who was then commanding the Anqing front, to "give up the siege of Anqing" and go to the rescue of Qimen. Zeng Guoquan rejected everyone's suggestion and pointed out: "It is precisely the intention of the bandits to

draw away my troops; why should I allow myself to be duped by them?" Even when the decision concerned the fate of his elder brother, he would under no circumstances lift the siege.<sup>25</sup> Even though the strategy of the Taiping army of launching a second westward expedition to rescue Anqing from its danger drew admiration from Zeng Guofan, when he admitted that "even if the bandits this time will rescue Anqing, they will still be miles away from gaining mastery of the situation....The bandits are well versed in the art of war and seem to be getting even bolder than they had been in previous years," he still remained unmoved in his firm decision "to make every effort to destroy Anqing, everything else to be gain or loss of no urgency."<sup>26</sup> The plan of the Taiping army to go by the old script of "besieging Wei to rescue Zhao" in order to lure the Xiang army away from the siege of Anqing and make them rush westward for the rescue of Wuchang, could hardly be effective in the case of so experienced and astute a man as Zeng Guofan, who furthermore just had been grieved to hear of the defeat and deaths of He-chun and Zhang Guoliang.

The contradiction between strategy and tactics is a very complex one, and it is very difficult to deal correctly with this contradiction. "Sometimes the tactical victory can promote the execution of the strategic task," "there are also times when the direct effects of a tactical victory are extremely brilliant, but of a kind that do not fit the strategic possibilities and therefore may create an 'untoward situation' of mortal danger."<sup>27</sup> It is therefore possible that a commander may put up a very impressive fight in one particular area, but may possibly not have been able to size up the strategical situation as a whole. Facts have made it clear that even though the Taiping army in its eastern campaign against Suzhou and Hangzhou gained rich and populous bases in the Jiangnan area and registered momentarily brilliant achievements, and even though their armies on the western expedition against Wuchang for a time threatened the oil lair of Hu Linyi and for a time struck fear into the enemy, these actions benefitted not in the least the overall strategic position of the Taiping army in its later period of existence. After setting up new bases in Suzhou and Hangzhou, the Taiping army could not in the end achieve its strategic objective of capturing Wuchang and taking the other half of the Jiangnan territory, and could not realize the tactical policy of rescuing Anqing from its danger. On the contrary, as soon as Anqing had fallen, the Xiang army immediately secured control of the Yangtze and moved downstream, and with a speed incomprehensible to Hong Rengan and the other Taiping leaders, attacked the Heavenly Capital. The Taiping army was "taken completely unawares,"<sup>28</sup> and another siege of the Heavenly Capital began. The bases in Jiangsu and Zhejiang had been hastily acquired and little effective political power had been established there, leaving a large force of concealed disturbing elements in existence. The Chinese and foreign reactionaries not only obstructed the eastward advance of the Taiping army into Shanghai and the occupation of Zhejiang to the west, but continued to invade the provinces of Jiangsu and Fujian and the area of eastern Zhejiang, creating for the Taiping army the unfavorable situation of having to fight on two fronts. Under these circumstances it was hardly possible to have the provinces of Jiangsu and Fujian become a stable rear area for the Heavenly Capital, and after 3 years these areas were completely lost. The original strategic objective set by



the Taiping supreme command of "bringing both banks of the Yangtze River into our possession" vanished like bubbles of soap. This shows that by turning primary and secondary concerns upside down and placing less important before more important concerns in the above-mentioned strategic policy and the consequential progression of the campaigns and tactical policies, the favorable conditions created by the second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze were lost, the unfavorable factors and negative aspects originally inherent in these campaigns were aggravated and thus an "untoward situation of mortal danger" created in the overall situation. Comrade Fan Wenlan [5400 2429 3482] once pointed out: "The military victories in Jiangsu and Zhejiang, against all expectations, speeded up the fall of Nanjing."<sup>29</sup> This is a very sound assessment indeed.

It is worthwhile pondering why, following the second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, when the Taiping army was already under severe attacks by the enemy forces at Anqing, Hong Xiuquan, Hong Rengan, Li Xiucheng and others still unanimously proposed above all a campaign toward the east. The fundamental reason is that after the victories in the second campaign for the destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, the ruler and his ministers had become dazzled by the battle victories and had developed a crippling mentality of taking the enemy too lightly and an inclination for rash and risky advances, making "widening the borders and opening up additional land" their objective, turning from a passive and defensive military conservatism to a military adventurism that disregarded the situation as a whole.

Firstly, owing to the battle victories in the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, Hong Xiuquan developed a pernicious and blind religious belief of "placing all trust in Heaven and not in men." The victories, which in actual fact were achieved through the life and death struggle of human bodies, were believed by Hong Xiuquan to be the unfathomable aid and acts of God. Later, Li Xiucheng complains in his recollections: "After the sixth relief of the capital, my Sovereign was exceedingly unreceptive to memorials and only believed in the designs of Heaven. His edicts spoke of Heaven but not of men." Resulting from this mentality his attitude toward meritorious personnel was that he "pronounced no more edicts praising the generals; the field commanders were no more received in audience, nor were the court officials. The Sovereign was not interested in the affairs of government, but merely instructed his ministers in the knowledge of Heaven, as if all was tranquil."<sup>30</sup> His religious superstitions made him increasingly incapable of correctly judging the overall situation on the battlefield, as he merely longed for imperial power and for "God the Father and Lord to descend into the world so that Heavenly Father, Heavenly Brother and Heavenly King rule over the Empire." He also nurtured such presumptuous sentiments as "everything under the heavens belongs to the Heavenly Father, Brother and King and will be taken over by them."<sup>31</sup> The reason why he decreed to seize Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai within 1 month was that he wanted Li Xiucheng to capture with the utmost speed the prosperous and populous area of Suzhou and Hangzhou and then go on to occupy both banks of the Yangtze in order to fulfill the prophecy of his dream "that God is helping him to take over all cities and lands." His religious superstition,

together with an inclination to rash and hazardous action fanned by his monarchial ideas, was not only at odds with the situation on the battlefield but also contrary to the objective reality of the relative strength, which no complimentary talk of "the focal point still being on the western road" could cover up.

Next, the victory in the second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze made Hong Rengan and Li Xiucheng forget the serious war situation on the western front. When determining the policy of the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, Hong Rengan was still able to recognize the serious threat from the enemy on the western front, and he laid down the rule that this campaign is "to have its emphasis on saving the capital and not on acquiring new territory." However, after the victory in the campaign he developed a crippling mentality of underestimating the enemy; "since the government carried on in peace and quietness, no apprehension at all was felt of any impending calamity."<sup>33</sup> He finally made every effort to secure "both banks of the Yangtze" as a matter of primary concern and an action that would lay "a foundation for a long time to come."

The threads of thought in Li Xiucheng's mind were in some respects the same as in Hong Rengan's mind, but at times he had his own personal plans. After victory in the second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, he wrote a letter to Zhang Luoxing, the Nian leader and commander in chief of the Northern Expedition, in which he said: "I am of the opinion that although the capital, occupying a position which overlooks the southern and northern shores of the great river, is an impregnable as metal walls and scalding moats, it is nevertheless necessary to root out all the demon caves in the south in order to achieve perpetual security like that of a great rock. Therefore I am determined to lead my army at an early date toward Suzhou, Hangzhou, Changzhou and Zhenjiang in an attempt to broaden our territory and extend our land and pacify the whole empire."

The idea of seizing Suzhou and Hangzhou in order to broaden the territory and extend the land to consolidate the realm of the Heavenly Kingdom, is the same as Hong Rengan's idea of "establishing a foundation for a long time to come." He also for this reason did not support Chen Yucheng's proposal of "giving attention to saving Anhui Province and delaying the intention of seizing Fujian and Zhenjiang," an idea only shared by the Gan Wang, Hong Rengan. However, Li Xiucheng also had his private plans regarding the rich and populous lands of Jiangsu and Zhejiang. At that time a certain centrifugal tendency began to appear in the Heavenly Kingdom. Each major field commander had his own territory. Li Xiucheng was for a time campaigning in north and south Anhui, an area interlocking in a jigsawlike way with Chen Yucheng's defense area. Toward the end of 1859, after the recapture of Jingpu and Pukou, when he camped at Pukou, Li Xiucheng had virtually left the Anhui territory. His cousin, the Shi Wang, Li Shixian, on his part was active in Jiangxi. In this way it became a very attractive proposition for Li Xiucheng to march into Jiangsu and Zhejiang and acquire a new territory for himself, and when he later captured Suzhou and Changzhou, he considered this his territory. In his utterances and behavior it became very evident that he clung to his official post and was reluctant to leave when ordered to go

on the western expedition. When his troops camped already in Wuchang County, he surprisingly decided on his own to retreat and lead his army back to Zhejiang. This action was much resented even by Li Shixian, who once pointed out: "Our first mistake was not to have our army hold on to Anhui Province and instead move into Zhejiang."<sup>35</sup> This was a reproach against Li Xiucheng, as it was also a forceful and penetrating self-introspection as to the gains and failures resulting from the strategy of the Taiping army after the second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze.

The above facts make it quite clear that the military adventurism and conservatism in peasant wars actually spring from the same source as the authoritarian inclinations of the peasant leaders. In the history of the Chinese peasant wars, quite a number of insurgent peasant armies, after establishing their own political regimes, have frequently changed their strategy from the original one of active attack to one of conservative defense. After achieving certain major victories in their defense, they displayed a lack of the firm and indomitable spirit to engage in a tenacious protracted war until the enemy would have gradually depleted his effective strength in his attacks against them, when at this time there would have been an opportunity that should not have been lost to go over to a strategy of counterattacks. Striving frequently for quick victories, employing an adventurist policy or going in for counterattacks or decisive battles often proved unfavorable for the achievement of the long-term objective. These are also the reasons why peasant wars mostly ended in military defeat. The Heavenly Kingdom in its activities before and after the second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze provided a striking example for this frequently witnessed phenomenon.

The victory in the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze was the crowning piece in the military achievements of the Taiping army in the later period of its existence. Its negative aspects could originally have been eliminated or found solutions if there would have been an earnest examination and assessment of what were matters of primary and what of secondary concern, or matters of greater or lesser urgency. It is a pity that the supreme command of the Taiping army made the wrong dispositions thereby preventing even higher achievements after their victory in this battle and thus allowed an excellent opportunity to be irretrievably lost and also allowed the situation on the battlefield to deteriorate from bad to worse. The miscarriage of the second western expedition and the loss of Anqing signified the beginning of the end for the Taiping army. Hong Rengan, who had masterminded the eastern campaign against Suzhou and Hangzhou and also the western campaign against Wuchang, also became a victim of these reversals, being removed from office and deprived of his rank of nobility. When he received the war news of the loss of Anqing, he clearly realized that this was "the most serious loss" for the Taiping army, and when the further news came that Chen Yucheng had laid down his life, he was filled with even more serious premonitions that "once the Ying Wang [Chen Yucheng] is gone, our military affairs and military power will plummet and disintegrate." Since the capture and opening up of Jiangsu and Zhejiang as new bases did not help in the overall situation, it proved indeed a gross mistake that the military conference at the Heavenly Capital that was studying "a sound

strategy for future progress," did not pay attention to the "Yang Wang's intention of saving Anhui Province." However, was this only this one man's mistake? It was doomed by history because this class could not lead the Chinese revolution to victory, and in the military struggle it was a sign of inability to withstand the onslaught of victory.

One must carefully judge battle victories and must assess battle victories in the framework of the overall strategic position in order to preserve an unbiased mind in such assessments. This is the lesson we can draw from the study of the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze.

Revised draft, 1 January 1981.

(Author of this article, Shen Weibin, born 1937, is lecturer at the History Department, Fudan University, Shanghai.)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "The Confession of Li Xiucheng"
2. "The Confession of Hong Rengan"
3. "Deception" has always been a major tactical expedient in Chinese and foreign theories on the art of war. We read in Sunzi's "The Art of War," chapter "Deliberation": "War is primarily a game of deception. When one is capable he must feign incapability. When one is active he must feign inactivity. When one is near his objective he must feign that he is far away. When one is far away from his objective he must feign that he is near....One should attack the enemy when they are least prepared and when one is least expected. All these considerations are essential to military success and they should on no account be divulged to the enemy." In the chapter "Maneuvers" we read: "War is based on deception and started by the desire for gain. Its tactics lie in the variation of concentration and division of forces." In his book "Vom Kriege" [On War] Clausewitz has a separate chapter on "Deception" and lists it as one of the items of strategy.
4. Hu Linui, "Ordering All Regimental Commanders to Inspect All Camps."
5. "The Confession of Li Xiucheng"
6. "The Diary of Nengjing Jushi [Zhao Liewen]"
7. Ibid., entry under w1 March (intercalary) in the 10th year of Xianfeng.
8. Chen Naigan, "Chronicle of Zhao Huifu [Zhao Liewen<sup>1</sup>]," with the remark: "Just recovered Jiufuzhou and blockaded its waterways. Government troops are valiant and vigorous and show contempt for the enemy." This shows precisely that He-chun had his mind set on encircling and capturing the Heavenly Capital and was impatient for success.

9. "Donghua Xulu" reign of Xianfeng, Vol 90.
10. Ibid., pp 45 and 49.
11. "Dongnan Jilue," in "The Heavenly Kingdom" (5) p 231.
12. "Linxue Congchao" in "Special Collection of Historical Material of the Heavenly Kingdom" p 399.
13. "Yuefei Jilue" in "Abridged Collection of Historical Material of the Heavenly Kingdom" Vol 1, p 53.
14. "Gengshen [1860] Diary of Jiangyin Dongnan Changshu Xibeicun"
15. This was contained in a posthumous memorial of Xiang Rong, first commander in chief of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze and accepted by the Qing government. Cf. "The Memorials and Other Documents of Xiang Rong" in "The Heavenly Kingdom" Vol 8, pp 672-674.
16. "The Confession of Li Xiucheng"
17. "Memorial on Careful Arrangement in Compliance With Decree" in "Collected Writings of Zeng Guofan" Vol 2 "Memorials," Shijie Shuju edition, p 325.
18. Clausewitz, "Vom Kriege" [On War] Vol 3 [sic! actually Vol 8], chapter 7, "Attack."
19. "The Confession of Li Xiucheng"
20. "The Confession of Hong Rengan"
21. Ibid.
22. Li Xiucheng's refusal to carry out the order to return within 1 month, apart from the above-mentioned contradictions, has to do with his intention to administer Jiangsu and Zhejiang.
23. It was half a year from the time that Chen Yucheng left the Heavenly Capital on the second western expedition on 13 September 1860 until 18 March 1861, when he occupied Huangzhoufu. If we deduct 3 months that he wasted on the second western expedition when he was held up unnecessarily, it shows that it would have required about 3 months to reach Hubei.
24. "Memorial on Managing the Whole Situation" in "Collected Writings of Zeng Guofan" Vol 2 "Memorials and Other Documents" p 331.
25. Wang Ding'an, "Record of the Xiang Army" Vol 6.

26. "Yu Zeng Chiyi" in "Collected Writings of Zeng Guofan" Vol 4, p 20.
27. "Collected Works of Stalin" Vol 5, p 127.
28. "The Confession of Hong Rengan"
29. "Modern Chinese History" Vol 1, revised edition, p 139.
30. "The Confession of Li Xiucheng"
31. "Proclamation of the Dreamt Prophecy of Taking-Over Cities and Lands"  
in "Collected Documents on the Heavenly Kingdom" p 50.
32. "The Confession of Hong Rengan"
33. Ibid.
34. "Collected Documents on the Heavenly Kingdom" pp 246-247.
35. "Collection and Interpretation of Taiping Historical Material" p 202.

9808

CSO: 4005/1069

PARTY AND STATE

HEILONGJIANG ISSUES CIRCULAR ON INTENSIFYING INTELLECTUAL WORK

SK061111 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Excerpts] According to HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, the provincial CPC Committee recently issued a circular to the party committees at all levels urging leading comrades at all levels to further enhance the people's understanding of the vital significance and pressing need of doing a good job in intellectual work and to conscientiously implement the guidelines of the central directives concerning intellectual work. To this end, we must do a good job in the following tasks:

1. Further enhance people's understanding and strengthen leadership over intellectual work. Party committees of various localities and units must study in an all-round manner all problems discovered in the recent intellectual work inspection activities. Problems that can be solved at present must be solved as soon as possible. In regard to problems that cannot be solved for a period of time, efforts must be made to devise plans to solve them step by step. As for problems that cannot be solved at the moment, efforts must be made to give a good explanation. We must strengthen the ideological and political work among intellectuals and urge leaders at all levels to make friends with intellectuals to always understand the problems existing in their work, study and livelihood. In the future, party committees at and above the county level must discuss intellectual work at least once every half year and inspect it once a year immediately solving all the problems they discover.
2. Concretely solve some practical problems of intellectuals in terms of politics and livelihood. Prior to the end of 1982, efforts must be made to do well from start to finish the reexamination work on redressing all unjust and false cases handled during the cultural revolution.
3. Conscientiously solve the housing problems of intellectuals. It is proposed that all localities must, in accordance with their financial conditions, appropriate a certain amount of money from the local flexible funds to serve as a subsidy for housing construction. In addition, in the days to come, all units, when distributing houses for staff and workers, must take into account and pay special attention to resolving the difficulties of intellectuals. We must strive for a greater improvement in the housing for middle-aged intellectuals in 3 to 5 years.

4. Do a good job in redistributing work for scientifically and technologically specialized cadres and give full play to their talent and wisdom.
5. Do a good job in training scientifically and technically talented persons. Organizational departments of the party committees at all levels must, along with the planning commission and other departments concerned, list the intellectual fostering and educational plans in their national economic development plans to promote the growth of talented persons.
6. Solve the problem of having experts hold too many posts at the same time and provide assistants for them. All localities and units must pay special attention to selecting and promoting outstanding scientifically and technologically specialized cadres to reinforce the leading bodies.

CSO: 4005/1297



## PARTY AND STATE

### WANG KUNLUN PRAISES HE XIANGNING

HK021046 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Wang Kunlun [3769 2491 0978], chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang: "A Shining Banner of the Revolutionaries of the Chinese Kuomintang--in Praise of Liao Zhongkai and His Spouse, He Xiangning; About Their Life and Work"]

[Text] With a feeling of great reverence, today we cherish the memory of the brilliant achievements of Liao Zhongkai and commemorate the 10th anniversary of the death of our late teacher He Xiangning. Liao Zhongkai and our late teacher He Xiangning were a shining banner of the revolutionaries of the Chinese Kuomintang, the great patriots and the forerunner of the democratic revolution in China. The life of Liao Zhongkai and He Xiangning was one of struggle and of revolution. Cherishing the memory of the older generation of revolutionaries will impel us even more to carry out the behest of the forefathers and to courageously and firmly march forward to make the country re-united, prosperous and powerful and enable the people to live in peace and happiness.

#### I

Liao Zhongkai was an outstanding political public figure in modern China. He wrote and translated many political essays for MIN BAO (PEOPLE'S DAILY), organ of the Tong Meng Hui (Revolutionary League), elucidated the revolutionary theories of Dr Sun Yat-sen, studied socialist theories, and explored ways to solve problems concerning the destiny and future of China. He Xiangning was the first female member of the Tong Meng Hui. She was responsible for arranging Dr Sun Yat-sen's secret meetings and for the communications and liaison work. Under the leadership of Dr Sun Yat-sen, both husband and wife enthusiastically carried out revolutionary propaganda work among the nationals residing abroad and called on countrymen residing abroad to support and take part in the struggle against the reactionary rule of the Qing government. After the 1911 revolution, they energetically carried out the struggle to send armed forces to suppress both the southern and northern warlords. During the period of the new democratic revolution, under the influence and the promotion of the Communist International and the Chinese Communist Party, Liao Zhongkai and He Xiangning spared no efforts to help and support Dr Sun Yat-sen to formulate the three great policies of alliance with Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers.

They were all along the close comrades in arms and capable assistants of Dr Sun Yat-sen. In the name of Dr Sun Yat-sen, Liao Zhongkai twice held talks with Joffe, a representative of Soviet Russia and helped to bring about the signing of the famous "Declaration of Sun Wen (Dr Sun Yat-sen) and Joffe," the reorganization of the KMT and the first CPC-KMT cooperation. The reorganized Chinese KMT enjoyed the tremendous support of the Communist Party of China and the broad masses of workers and peasants and its revolutionary character was thus greatly enhanced. In the first national congress of the KMT, Liao Zhongkai was elected member of the Central Executive Committee, member of the Standing Committee and member of the Political Committee. He held the posts, in succession, of governor of Guangdong Province, minister of finance and concurrently minister of the Ministry of Labor of the Kuomintang, representative of the KMT in the Whampoa Military Academy and other important posts. He sincerely cooperated with the Communist Party, established a powerful revolutionary armed force and propelled the workers' and peasants' movement and thus enjoyed the deep love and esteem of the vast numbers of the revolutionary party members and the masses of workers and peasants. During this period, He Xiangning was elected minister of the Ministry of Women of the KMT Central Committee. She energetically carried forward the women's mass movement, ran training institutes for the women's mass movement, schools for working women, vigorously propagandized the proposition of opposing imperialism and warlords among the women and called on them to join the ranks of struggle of the democratic revolution and thus became an outstanding leader of the women's movement in China.

After the death of Dr Sun Yat-sen, Liao Zhongkai and our late teacher He Xiangning upheld the three great revolutionary policies and they were thus hated and attacked by the rightist forces. On 20 August 1925, Liao Zhongkai was attacked by an assassin and died for his country. Under the circumstances in which the revolutionary forces suffered a serious setback, like a pine tree standing erect, He Xiangning remained faithful and unyielding. What she cherished most was to "translate her grief into a force to realize his wish, and also to work with all-out efforts the rest of her life to serve the country." She encouraged the revolutionaries of the KMT to "give no thought to personal safety while carrying out the revolutionary cause. ...I hope all comrades of the KMT will exert greater and more arduous efforts to ensure the victory of the revolution." Comrade Zhou Enlai, who was director of the Political Department of the Whampao Military Academy, at that time praised Liao, in his elegiac address to the latter, as "the most responsible and capable leader in the KMT" "who had unrivalled courage of advancing bravely, swiftly and fiercely."

## II

After Dr Sun Yat-sen passed away and Liao Zhongkai was murdered, in the long years of struggle of the Chinese revolution, our late teacher He Xiangning ceaselessly forged ahead, fought unremittingly and devoted the energies of her lifetime.

In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution and carried out "a purge within the KMT" by force. Our late teacher He Xiangning resolutely opposed the

"case of sorting out party affairs." Faced with difficulties and dangers, she came forward courageously to protect the communists and progressive elements in the Ministry of Women. While Wang Jingwei put forward a proposition to "purge the communists" in Wuhan, Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning and others resolutely opposed. With the force of justice, our late teacher He Xiangning pointed out that Liao Zongkai had shed his blood and dedicated his life to carrying out the three great policies of Dr Sun Yat-sen and we must, by no means, run counter to Dr Sun's teachings. It was unfortunate that the KMT and the CPC were split up. Our late teacher He Xiangning was extremely indignant over this and determinedly resigned all her posts in the KMT government.

At a moment when a powerful enemy force was bearing down upon the border and the national crisis was unprecedentedly serious, with a high level of patriotic zeal, He Xiangning and Soong Ching Ling enthusiastically plunged into the anti-Japanese national liberation movement. In 1931, they published their "views on the current political situation" and resolutely opposed the reactionary policy of the Kuomintang authorities, that is, a policy of "maintaining internal security first before resisting foreign aggression." During the "28 January [1932]" Shanghai campaign, our late teacher He Xiangning went to the streets, delivered speeches and highly praised the heroic feats of the anti-Japanese valiant fighters of the KMT's 19th Route Army. She sent telegrams to the countrymen residing abroad and called on them to support the motherland to resist Japanese aggression. She enthusiastically responded to the "1 August Declaration" issued by the Chinese Communist Party, a declaration which called on the people of the whole country to work together as one to stop the civil war and resist Japanese aggression. She protested the illegal arrest of the "seven champions of democracy" who were engaged in patriotic activities, exposed the KMT government's crimes of compromising with and capitulating to other countries and ruthlessly persecuted patriots at home, during the war of resistance against Japan, energetically responded to the Chinese Communist Party's call for the formation of an anti-Japanese national unit front. Together with Soong Ching Ling, she founded the "China Defense League" for collecting donations from overseas Chinese and zealously plunged into the anti-Japanese national salvation movement. When the Kuomintang authorities started the "southern Anhui incident," He Xiangning and other noble-minded patriots issued a joint message in Hong Kong. It pointed out: "In the future, the use of armed force to suppress the Communist Party must be stopped" and strongly denounced the perverse acts of the Chiang Kai-shek regime and thus vigorously supported the struggle of the Chinese Communist Party for resisting Japanese aggression and liberating the nation and splendidly defended the three great policies of Dr Sun Yat-sen. During the period of the liberation war, she resolutely exposed the dictatorial role of the KMT authorities and supported the proposition of the Chinese Communist Party to stop the civil war and establish a coalition government. She actively initiated the formation of the democracy-promoting association of the Chinese KMT and warmly supported the patriotic-democratic movement.

Our late teacher He Xiangning was an outstanding leader of the revolutionary committee of the Chinese KMT and one of its founders. During the long years of the cooperation with the Communist Party, she realized that the communists fear neither difficulties nor sacrifice and have a long-range revolutionary

objective and that the future of the country will surely belong to the Chinese Communist Party which has close ties with the people. Therefore, while deliberations and discussions on the setting up of an organization of the revolutionary committee of the KMT were made in 1947 in Hong Kong, she clearly put forth her political propositions and said: "If we want to set up such an organization, we must cooperate with the Communist Party. If we again indulge in splitism, I will not participate in it." She proposed that this organization should be named the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT and maintained the name should be preceded by the characters of the "Chinese Kuomintang" so as to unite more revolutionary comrades of the Kuomintang to take part in the revolution. Her proposals met with the warm approval of the participating comrades. Later, He Xiangning, Li Jishen (Li Chi-shen) and others personally wrote and signed "a petition to Madame Sun," asking Comrade Soong Ching Ling to take charge of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT in order to console the yearn of the various democratic parties and democratic personages. This proposal met with the vigorous support of Comrade Soong Ching Ling. In November 1947, the United Conference of the KMT was convened in Hong Kong, and in the speech delivered at the opening ceremony of the conference, she declared that the aim of this united conference was to "realize the genuine three people's principles" and "to carry out the three great policies," and called on all the participants to sincerely and wholeheartedly work hard in carrying out the behests of Dr Sun Yat-sen. On New Year's Day the following year, it was proclaimed that the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT was formally set up and revolutionary elder He Xiangning was one of its principal leaders. She energetically responded to the call of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the convocation of a new people's political consultative conference and at the advanced age of 70, she went to the liberated areas to take part in the new people's political consultative conference and participated in the preparatory work for the founding of the People's Republic of China.

### III

After the founding of new China, revolutionary elder He Xiangning held the posts of member of the central people's government, director of the overseas Chinese affairs committee, vice chairman of the National Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, vice chairman of the NPC, honorable president of the All-China [word indistinct] Federation, chairman of the Chinese Artists' Association and other important posts. She consistently stood up for the Chinese Communist Party and persistently took the socialist road. She concerned herself with women and children, with the patriotic countrymen residing abroad and with the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the great cause of the reunification of the motherland. She was a stateswoman known at home and abroad and a revolutionary elder commanding reverence among the people throughout the country. After chairman Li Jishen passed away, the Fourth Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT unanimously supported and elected revolutionary elder He Xiangning, who enjoyed popular confidence, as chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT. In a letter to all the members of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT, she urged the comrades of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT to carry out and develop Dr Sun Yat-sen's spirit

of uninterrupted progress and to accept the leadership of the CPC. With more than a half century of her rich experience, she often showed the truth that socialism and socialism alone can save China. She taught all of us to treasure today's victory and firmly take the socialist road.

Revolutionary elder He Xiangning supported the CPC's policy concerning the united front. With her concrete deeds, she set an example of "sharing a common fate in honor or disgrace and showing utter devotion to our friends." At the commemoration ceremony of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, on behalf of various democratic parties, nonparty personages and the All-China Association of Industry and Commerce, delivering a message, she said: "During the long years of revolutionary struggle, we have taken part in the united front led by the CPC. At every important juncture of the revolution, the CPC would point out the orientation of advance and the correct way for us in good time." "With the leadership of the CPC, all descriptions of enemy can be defeated and all sorts of difficulties can be overcome." Revolutionary elder He Xiangning showed great concern for the reunification of the motherland. During her lifetime, she composed poems, wrote articles, delivered speeches and sent words to her old friends in Taiwan to urge them to do their bit for the reunification of the motherland.

The revolutionary cause for which revolutionary martyrs, such as Liao Zhongkai and He Xiangning, struggled for by sacrificing their lives has ushered in a new era under the CPC. The socialist cause is thriving, the people are enjoying a life of political stability and unity and the scope and growth rate of the construction of the motherland has significantly surpassed the ideals of Dr Sun Yat-sen. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the construction of the motherland has entered a new historical stage. Taking Liao Zhongkai and our late teacher He Xiangning as models, we comrades of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT should learn from their patriotic, noble and moral characters, their revolutionary spirit of ardently loving the Communist Party and closely uniting with the Communist Party and all patriotic and democratic forces with absolute sincerity and their noble spirit and integrity of arduously struggling, of being selfless and fearless, of daring to keep forging ahead and unceasingly making progress, and with our concrete deeds, the shouts greet the convocation of the 12th National Congress of the CPC and make concerted efforts to struggle for building China into a modern and powerful, highly democratic and culturally advanced country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern defense and modern science and technology.

CSO: 4005/1298

## PARTY AND STATE

### JILIN STRENGTHENS PARTY CONSTRUCTION

SK080409 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Sep 82

[Excerpts] According to our sources, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, party organizations at all levels throughout our province have scored achievements in improving party workstyle. Large numbers of party members have vigorously engaged in socialist construction on all fronts, thus promoting the development of various undertakings. After the smashing of the gang of four, since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee in particular, the provincial CPC Committee has paid great attention to party construction and listed it as an item on the daily agenda. The provincial CPC Committee has adopted many measures to strengthen the party.

Over the past few years, the provincial CPC Committee issued a circular on enhancing political and ideological work and a circular on carrying forward the practice of seeking truth from facts. After the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the provincial CPC Committee organized all party members in the province to conscientiously study the draft of revised CPC constitution. Following the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the provincial CPC Committee issued documents on ways to organize party members to study the resolutions adopted by the 6th plenum. In February 1982, it issued another circular on conducting a widespread education and inspection on party workstyle, party spirit and party discipline. It also resumed the former organizational systems [zu zhi yuan zhi du] throughout the province, sponsored a provincial educational work conference of party members and summed up the experiences on strengthening the party in the past few years. As a result, various corruptive phenomena in party and cadre contingents have been eliminated politically, ideologically and organizationally, party workstyle has been improved and the party's prestige among the masses has been heightened.

The fact that the provincial CPC Committee pays attention to party construction has aroused the attention in this regard of party organizations at all levels. They basically changed the past situation of depending on a few departments, projects and persons to strengthen the party. With an improved administration, the party work now is conducted by both the higher and lower units, by every secretary and by each level.

In the past few years, party organizations at all levels throughout the province have adopted the following measures to strengthen the party:

1. Conduct education, anti-corruption education in particular, among party members, thus strengthening their faith in communism and enabling them to preserve the purity of communism.
2. Enforce party discipline. Some party members who illegally joined the party during the great cultural revolution have been dealt with. In particular, some incorrigible party members uncovered in the struggle against economic crimes have been expelled from the party, thus preserving the purity of the party contingent.
3. Rectify the party workstyle, build closer relations between the party and the masses, gradually resume the party's fine tradition and mobilize the masses' enthusiasm for the four modernizations, thus promoting the development of production and improving the livelihood of the masses.

In the course of dealing blows at serious economic crimes, leaders of the provincial CPC Committee have personally handled major and general cases, thus further strengthening the party, improving party leadership and enhancing the fighting capacity of party organizations. The great majority of the 61,000 grassroots party branches and 860,000 party members across the province are good or relatively good. They are attending to socialist construction on all fronts so as to promote the development of industrial and agricultural production.

CSO: 4005/1297



## PARTY AND STATE

### LIAONING OFFICIAL ON HISTORIC CHANGES IN MODERN CHINA

SK090831 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Sep 82

[Recorded talk by Tang Hongguang, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, entitled: "Great Changes and Sacred Missions"--date not given]

[Excerpts] The successful convocation of the 12th National Party Congress is a joyous political occasion for the people of all nationalities across our country, a glorious historical chapter of our party as well as a motive force to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and to approach the magnificent goal for 2000. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report have comprehensively summed up the rich experiences gained since the 11th National Party Congress and, in particular, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, set forth the general task of our party for the new historical period, defined the way forward for us and greatly aroused the fighting will of the people throughout the country.

Looking back over the course of the struggle our party has traversed in the past 60 years or so, there have been three instances of historic change. The first one is the change from the failure of the northern expedition to the outbreak of the agrarian revolutionary war. The second one is the change from the failure of the struggle against the Kuomintang fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign to the launching of the war of resistance against Japan. After smashing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and, in particular, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has already fulfilled the arduous task of setting aright things which were thrown into disorder in the field of guiding ideology and has achieved new successes in practical work of all fronts, thus creating the third great historic change. The third historic change is in accord with historical development, is a vivid reflection of the correctness of our party's line, principles and policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, as well as with the common desire and urgent need of the people throughout the country. These historic changes have proved that our party is able to withstand any test, is a Marxist political party which becomes more mature day by day, is a proletarian vanguard which we can totally count on, is the leading core of the people throughout the country and is the place where our faith and hope lies.



It is my honor and pride to be a member of our party. However, in the course of fulfilling the general task for the new historic period, our loads will be very heavy. Therefore, we must strengthen our hope and confidence in the beautiful future of our motherland and in the magnificent prospect of our communist cause.

During the period of socialist revolution and construction, the people of our country closely rallied around the party, traversed a road of arduous struggle and made great contributions to the socialist cause. After the smashing of the gang of four, we have stepped into a new field in socialist construction. Now, with this new situation of socialist construction, [words indistinct], with the correct party line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, with the correct leadership of the party Central Committee which enjoys popular love and support and with the hard-working population of one billion, we will certainly achieve new successes in the socialist modernization drive.

CSO: 4005/1297

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'DAZHONG RIBAO' ON PROPAGATING COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

HK070356 Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Justly and Forcefully Propagate Communist Ideology"]

[Text] The 12th CPC National Congress will soon be convened. This is going to be an extremely important congress in the history of our party. At a time when the whole country and members of all trades and all professions are greeting the 12th National Congress with practical actions, we hail the great victories of our party in the practice of communism in the past 50 years. We are determined to hold high the banner of communism to work hard in order to march toward the glorious goal of communism.

The banner of the Communist Party is communism itself. Since the founding of our party, we have made communism our highest guiding principle and our ultimate goal of endeavor. Moreover, with unwavering faith, we have started the communist movement which has surged forward with great momentum. Just take a casual look at the whole history of our party--from the movement to overthrow the warlords and the local despots, land redistribution, the Nanchang uprising, the crushing of the reactionary KMT encompassing the famous long march, the glorious war of resistance to fight the Japanese imperialist invasion, and the 3 years' war of liberation to strive for national victory, to the socialist revolution and construction carried out since the founding of PRC; we can see that all our victories are victories of communist practice. In the cruel war years, under the butcher's knife of the enemy, the great communist warrior Xia Minghang wrote a poem, "Accepting Death," which is full of power and grandeur: "It does not matter if my head is chopped off so long as the doctrine is true. If Xia Minghan is killed, there are successors." The older generation of revolutionaries of our party, all faithful communists and revolutionaries of all sectors, are faithful warriors of communist practice. Had there been no communist ideology to act as our spiritual pillar and motivating force, all our victories would have been unthinkable. What we are carrying out now is no longer a communist movement in a general sense, nor is it a communist movement before the seizure of political power by the proletariat to become the ruling class. It is already the communist movement being well established under the historical condition of the socialist system. That is to say, it is a communist movement in the preliminary stages of communism. If we maintain that all our past victories are gained under the guidance of the communist ideological system, then, under new historical conditions,

if we are to have an overall development in the construction of socialist modernization, if we are to build a high level of material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization, it is all the more necessary to hold even higher the banner of communism, and through strong public opinion and a series of convincing education work, carry forward communist thought, making it the spiritual pillar of the people, making it the ideological basis uniting the 1 billion people of our country and making it the strong motivating force for the construction of the four modernizations. Had there been no basic assurance of communist ideology, our goal would come to naught, and thus we could not prevent invasion and erosion by capitalist ideology. Thus, we must justly and forcefully propagate communist ideology on a grand scale, making it a weapon to criticize all sorts of ideological fallacies, to arm the party and to educate the people.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have strengthened the work on the ideological and political fronts. In our province, all levels of party organs have educated party members, cadres and the masses, respectively, in the line, the guiding principles, policies and the four basic principles, they have organized study and propaganda of the "resolution" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, they have wiped out the influence of "leftism," they have criticized the incorrect tendency of bourgeois liberalization, and they have conducted education in the revolutionary view of life and patriotism, and in fighting against corrosive bourgeois ideology. [as published] In addition, they have made developments in the construction of socialist spiritual civilization throughout society. Such activities of studying, propaganda, and education in politics and ideology have stimulated changes in people's spiritual outlook, in the party spirit and the spirit of society, and there are plenty of good people and good deeds. But we must realize that misconceptions and nuclear ideas have been formed both inside and outside the party for reasons such as the negative influence of the 10 years of internal disorder, which has not been wiped out completely, some people fail to correctly treat and analyze certain setbacks in the history of our party, some people only manage to have a vague idea of the scientific definition of communism, and so on. In addition, the banner of communism is not held highly in education and propaganda, and communist ideology is not often justly and forcefully propagated. As a result, some people outside the party form unclear ideas and wrong concepts on the question of communism; some think that communism is something totally unrealistic; some even say that communism is just like flowers in a mirror or the moon in the water, you can see it but you cannot touch it; some think that as our country is poor, the spirit of our party is bad, the setbacks are numerous, the difficulties are great, it is not even so easy to achieve socialism, and it would be much more difficult to achieve communism; so they have no faith in communism, they throw away their lofty goal and pay no attention to the interests of revolution and they wholeheartedly pursue their personal interests; some say things like: "Reconciliation is noble, escape is wise, being perfunctory is the masterstroke", "if you grow flowers, the fragrance will spread to the neighborhood; but if you grow a sting, you will be stung," "all these isms, whatever gives me substantial benefits is good and so on. Some of our party organs and some leadership cadres, when faced with such erroneous ideas and views, fail to justly and forcefully educate and criticize. One reason is

that they only have a vague idea of communism, and fail to clearly see the boundary. Some take communism as a goal but not a movement; some think that to propagate communism is to skip over the necessary stages, it is too "leftist" and it is not suitable for our time. The above-mentioned problems cannot but stimulate our attention and serious treatment. Any take-it-easy attitude and negligence will be considered irresponsible and not serious.

We communists are the ones to propagate and practice communism. To propagate communism is not only our long-term duty, but is also an imminent and real duty under the new historical conditions. At this moment, we must justly and forcefully propagate it on a grand scale. But how can we make this propaganda a success?

First, all levels of party organs must place the duty to propagate communism in their important agenda. All members of the organs, senior and junior, and all fronts are to be engaged in this propaganda with a high sense of responsibility. This is a duty of all levels of party organs in all professions, all trades and all mass organizations, and wherever there is party organ activity, this task must be grasped well.

Second, education in basic Marxist theory must be strengthened. Party members and cadres must be organized in a planned and step-by-step manner to systematically learn Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the basic theory of communism to wipe out unclear ideas and unclear concepts, so that their faith in socialism and communism can be radically strengthened. Cadres of all levels and all party members must pass through a process of learning and understanding the scientific definition of communism. The communist theory of Marxism tells us, "Communism is the whole ideological system of the proletariat, it is also a new type of social system." That means communism is not merely a new type of social system, but is also a movement guided by the communist ideological system. Ever since there has been a Communist Party, there has been communist movement and communist practice. Some think that communism is a far-fetched illusion; this view is ridiculous. Communism, as a movement and as a kind of practice, is in the reality of our lives and the reality of our struggle. The communist movement has to pass through an extremely long historical process. Generations of men are required for it to proceed. But the road under our feet is the road of communism. When such a basic idea is acquired, our faith in communism will be strengthened enormously and thus we can justly and forcefully make the propaganda of communism a success.

Third, propaganda of communist ideology must be linked with reality. In answering and solving all sorts of ideological questions concerning the ideals of communism, one must pay attention to the various ways to give answers. One must use all propaganda media and be good at answering questions convincingly, analytically and to the point, with reference to the linkage of theory and practice. Meaningless and abstract indoctrination cannot help solve ideological questions. Only when the ideals of communism and the realistic contents of communist practice are united can practical questions be answered convincingly.

Fourth, in propagating communist ideology, we have to inherit and make use of the good past experience of developing education, but we must not repeat previous ways of doing things without making an analysis. We have to search for new methods and create new experiences, based on the new conditions of today. Thus, new problems in the propaganda of communist ideology can be discovered and solve in time so that this propaganda can be effective and continuously grow in profundity. As to the content of the propaganda, on one hand we have to link together the construction of socialist modernization with the ambitious goal of communism, and on the other hand, we have to pay attention to the relations between managing well propaganda on communist ideology and propaganda on executing present socialist policies.

Fifth, in propagating communist ideology, we have to forcefully propagate those advanced personalities and advanced models who have embodied communist ideology, the communist spirit, communist morality and communist conduct so as to promote positive factors and eliminate negative factors. These advanced models are the personification and embodiment of communist ideology. They have great effect on the education, enlightenment and feelings of the cadres and the masses. We have to appeal to the cadres, party members and CYL members to be first in learning from the advanced models and to be good models themselves. We also have to positively promote development in criticism and self-criticism so as to overcome erroneous ideology and erroneous concepts.

That socialism must triumph over capitalism and that communism has to be realized is the inevitable tendency in social development. It is an objective law that nobody can change. We must propagate this truth, and we must educate the cadres and the party members to hold even higher the banner of communism so as to lead the masses to greet the convening of the 12th CPCU National Congress with high communist spirits.

CSO: 4005/1297

## PARTY AND STATE

'DAZHONG RIBAO' URGES HAVING FAITH IN COMMUNISM

HK080928 Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "We Must Have Firm Faith in Communism--Refuting the 'Theory of the Remoteness of Communism'"]

[Text] Our ambitious ideal is communism, our glorious banner is communism, and the ultimate goal of our revolution is the realization of communism. This ambitious ideal has been talked of by our party for decades; this glorious banner has been highly held for decades; this ultimate goal of revolution has been struggled for decades. But at present, in the reality of life, some people have become skeptical and are wavering toward communism. One of the more outstanding ways of putting it is the so-called "theory of the remoteness of communism." We must analyze it and give it a definite and accurate answer. Some people say things like "communism is something remote," it is like "flowers in a mirror or the moon in the water, it is something one cannot touch nor get hold of;" some says things like communism is like "the moon in the sky, it is something to look at but you can never get close to it;" some even say "communism is imaginery," it is an "illusion." Such a "theory of the remoteness of communism" is incoherent in theory and it is not in accord with the objective reality in practice; it is something extremely harmful.

What does communism mean? It has two meanings: one is the communist system, and the other the communist movement. The communist system is the perfect, the most rational and the most progressive society of man. Time and the hard work of generations of men are indeed required in its realization. But the communist system must be ultimately realized. This is the inevitable tendency of human social development. Marx and Engels, making use of the theory of dialectical materialism and the theory of historical materialism, which they themselves developed, had observed the contradictions of capitalist society, and analyzed the law of development in a capitalist economy. They pointed out that after a capitalist society has undergone the struggle of proletarian revolution, the process of proletarian dictatorship will become a socialist society where there is public ownership of the means of production, where there is the system of distribution according to work and where exploitation is eliminated; a socialist society, undergoing the process of an enormous development in the productive force and great progress in politics and culture, will ultimately develop into a communist society where there is the system of from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs and where

the three major gaps between town and country, industry and agriculture, and physical and mental labor are eliminated. It is very clear that capitalism will become extinct, socialism will certainly triumph and communism will be realized. This is the scientific prediction put forth by the teachers of revolution in their summation of social practice; it is an inevitable historical tendency, and an inevitable law of social development. The idea that "communism is imaginary" and that it is an illusion are utterly unfounded.

Regarding the communist movement, if we speak of the world as whole, it has a history of more than 130 years as indicated by the publication of the "Communist Manifesto." In our country, since the founding of our party, the movement has been progressing in a systematic and planned manner for more than 60 years. Our party led the people of our country to thoroughly accomplish the task of new democratic revolution. The party has achieved the socialist transformation in the private ownership of the means of production and has carried out socialist construction on a grand scale. To walk a thousand li begin with the road immediately under one's feet. In the practice of the communist movement we have walked a long way and have won great victories. Our movement is no longer the communist movement in a general sense, but is the communist movement under the historical condition of the communist socialist system being well established, that is to say, the preliminary stage of communism. This is something we should be proud of. Thus, speaking of communism as a movement from this point of view, the movement is close at hand. The practice of the communist movement is in the reality of our lives. All the actions and movements of proletarian revolution are actions and movements of communist practice. The communist movement is still practising, developing and winning new victories all the time. How can people say that communism "is something remote," that it is like "the moon in the water or flowers in a mirror" and that it is something to look at but you can never get close to it?

There are two reasons why people waver over communist ideals and communist faith. One is that they think that our country is poor and conditions bad and that the communist goal is too far away; the other is that they think that there exist in certain places some problems concerning social mood and party spirit, and the construction of communism is too difficult. We have to admit that because of the serious mistakes made under "leftist" guiding ideology in the past, especially the sabotage done by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, our socialist cause has met great setbacks, and the superiority inherent in a socialist system has not been duly promoted, and in material conditions, it is true that we are relatively weak. The ideology and the way of doing things by certain people in certain places and certain units fall short of the demands of communism. Some have even deserted communism. These are objective facts. But these are definitely not intrinsic nor do they represent the mainstream. Any sober Marxist, any firm proletarian revolutionary, should clearly distinguish the principal and secondary aspects at any time, and we should not become wavering and skeptical toward the faith and ideal of our party and communism because we have seen that our country has at certain periods suffered damager produced by mistakes in guiding ideology. We should not be pessimistic and lose hope in socialist construction and the communist practice because we have seen that counterrevolutionary cliques like those of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing appeared in our party



and our country to bring great setbacks to the socialist cause; we should not lose ambitious communist ideal and firm faith, and we should not cease to strive for them because we have seen that certain unhealthy tendencies are still existing in society and that there are individual cases of corruption. Our socialist system, the communist movement we are continuously practicing, has an extraordinary, stable and immense vitality. Precisely as a result of that, our party managed to crush the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, to correct certain mistakes in guiding ideology and to bring about a turn for the better in the spirit of the party and society. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Central Committee of our party has proceeded from the actual situation of our country and, under the guidance of the communist ideological system and making use of the theory of socialism, has carried out a series of adjustments and reforms in the politics and economy of the country, and has formulated a series of principles and policies to develop and perfect the socialist system, thus making the political life of our party and our country and the socialist construction proceed along the track of healthy development. In our province for example, in the 3 years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there has been an average annual increase of 6.2 percent in the value of industrial and agricultural production, there has been an increase of 57.2 yuan in the per capita income from collective distribution of the communes and villages of the province in the 3 years, and there was a 57 percent increase in the total volume of social commodities retailed in the province. As long as we firmly proceed along this road, there will be a great development in the productive force of the society, and the people's standard of living will be continuously improved, the construction of socialist spiritual civilization will achieve greater results, and the preliminary stage of communism--socialist society--will become better and more developed. All this will serve to lay down a firm and strong foundation for the great building of communism.

Man must have a little spirit, man cannot be without faith. To possess firm faith in communism is the basic requirement of every member of the Communist Party and every proletarian revolutionary. Were there no communist ideal and faith, were there no communist ideological system to act as guidance, there would not be conscious actions of socialist revolution and social construction, to say nothing of the struggle for communism. The inspiring power of ideals and faith is enormous. Countless martyrs of the revolution drew inspiration from the communist ideal, dashed ahead regardless of their safety for the communist cause, and sacrificed their precious lives. Many heroes and exemplary persons drew inspiration from communism, made communism the guidance of their action, and achieved glorious deeds which moved one to song and tears. We should be like them, be men of faith and ideals. Under the guidance of the communist ideological system, we should make ourselves into earnest and down-to-earth men of action, so as to do our small share to help with the great building of communism and then to benefit our posterity. A true communist warrior will never relax his efforts on the grounds that the realization of communism is a long process, and will never shrink from the difficulties he encounters on his way to the battlefield. Beginning with themselves, every party member and every revolutionary must from now on, courageously plunge



into the communist movement. Those who are pessimistic, those who have doubts and those who are wayering, should light up the fire of communism in their heart once again, establish firm faith in communism, look at the future, and strive for communism to the end.

To firmly uphold the great ideal of communism does not mean to carry out right now the policies of communism of a later stage nor to blow any "communist wind." Our present socialist system is quite different from the later stage of communism. We should, under the guidance of communist ideology, more thoroughly carry out the principles and policies of our party and state. We should do our work better. If we long for communism, we should go all out for communism at this moment. The better we achieve the socialist cause today, the earlier communism will come. If generations of our people do solid work step by step, communism will ultimately be realized.

CSO: 4005/1297

## PARTY AND STATE

'LIAONING RIBAO' ON COMMUNISTS, COMMUNISM

HK091439 Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Qi Yu [7871 1878]: "Communists Must Stress Communism"]

[Text] Communists must stress communism. This is plain to everybody. Our party is named the Communist Party. This is because its ultimate aim is the realization of communism, and what it is undertaking is the communist cause. Now that we have voluntarily joined this party and pledged before the party banner to fight for communism throughout our lives, we must certainly be loyal to our pledges.

However, some people are not doing so. It seems to them that communism, although it may exist in the future, is an ideal realm which is as vague as mist and cannot be realized in the foreseeable future. So, to fight for communism is something for the future and something for our descendants. This shows that at this historical juncture, various misunderstandings and confused ideas about communism really exist among some comrades.

What is communism? It implies two meanings: One is the communist social system and the other is the communist movement. These two relate to each other. The former is the ultimate aim of the latter, and the latter is a historical course toward the former. The communist social system is the most advanced, reasonable and superior system in human history. The realization of this social system requires unremitting efforts by several generations of people. However, the communist movement started as early as the Communist Party was founded. The new democratic revolution led by our party was a part of this movement, and so is the socialist revolution and the socialist construction led by our party. Thus, fighting for communism throughout our lives is by no means an empty world. All revolutionary work we are undertaking, all we are doing, are for the realization of the communist society in the future and are, first, for the communist cause at present.

We have firm faith in communism not only because it is established on a scientific theoretical basis, but also because it is, first of all, a movement. Practices have proved again and again that communism conforms to the law of development of history and is in keeping with the fundamental interests of the people. Marx discovered the materialist historical viewpoint and exposed the secret of capitalist production. He thus turned utopian socialism

into scientific socialism. The October Revolution led by Lenin, the Chinese revolution led by our party and Comrade Mao Zedong and the revolution in other countries have further turned socialism from a scientific theory into a brilliant reality. All this is a great practice of communism. We are in such a great practice everyday. How can we say that communism is an "empty word?"

A man must have some spirit, and a communist must have the communist spirit. In the socialist society, the distribution of personal consumer goods is made according to one's work, but a communist must never carry out the revolution for the sake of wages. We must not be restricted by the outlook of bourgeois rights and become mediocre people who haggle over remuneration when they have done a bit more work than others. We must not even put money-making first and have only our children, houses and money at heart. All activities such as graft and embezzlement, speculation and profiteering, smuggling and selling smuggled goods, appropriating state and collective property and so forth, are illegal activities which run counter to communism. We must resolutely resist and deal heavy blows to these activities. Practice shows that mere implementation of the system of distribution according to one's work without carrying out communist ideological education will fail in resisting the corrosive influence of capitalist and bourgeois ideologies. This is why we say that the opinion communism is as vague as mist is entirely wrong and harmful.

CSO: 4005/1297

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SYSTEM

HK200717 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Shangzhuo [1728 1424 7763]: "The Consolidation and Development of Our Country's People's Congresses" -- slantlines denote boldface as published]

[Text] Compared with the previous three constitutions, the provisions concerning the people's congresses in the draft revised constitution have the following characteristics:

//1. Democratic centralism is consolidated and developed.//

Article 3 of the draft revised constitution clearly stipulates that our state organs should implement the principle of democratic centralism. The article includes the following: 1) The NPC and the local people's congresses at various levels are elected democratically, are responsible to the people and subject to their supervision. 2) All organs of state administration and all judicial and procuratorial organs are responsible to and are subject to the supervision of those organs of state power which originated them. 3) The division of functions and powers between the central and local state institutions shall conform to the principle of giving full play to the initiative and enthusiasm of the local authorities under the unified leadership of the central authorities. This means that on the one hand the people of the whole country establish their state organs of power--people's congresses at various levels--by means of democratic election and on the other hand, people's congresses at various levels exercise, on behalf of the people, all state powers on the basis of democracy to administer state affairs, practice democracy under centralized guidance and ensure that all the people are masters of state affairs and social activities.

//2. The term of office of the NPC and the times for its holding of sessions are more clearly stipulated.//

In 1951, Comrade Liu Shaoqi stressed the importance and necessity of regularly convening people's congresses. Regularly convening people's congresses is not just a question of procedure but an important system for strengthening the system of the people's congresses and for ensuring that the people are masters. It is clear to all that if meetings are not held, it will be impossible for the

people, through their representatives, to discuss and decide major state issues and to implement the principle that all powers belongs to the people. The term of office of the NPC and the times for the holding of its sessions are stipulated in a flexible way in the 1975 constitution. It says, for example, that the NPC is elected for a term of 5 years and under special circumstances the term of office can be extended and that NPC sessions are to be held once a year and if necessary, they can be advanced or postponed. Thus, it was easy for Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and other careerists to avail themselves of loopholes in it. As a result, no NPC sessions were held for a long time and the NPC became nothing more than a name. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the party and the government adopted measures to strengthen the work of people's congresses at various levels and in the course of practice, sessions of the NPC and its standing committee have been regularly convened. The draft revised constitution has affirmed these results, and restored and developed the principle laid down in the 1954 constitution. Article 57 stipulates: The NPC is elected for a term of 5 years. Two months before the term of office of a NPC expires, its standing committee must ensure that the election of deputies to the succeeding NPC is completed. Should exceptional circumstances prevent such an election, the term of office of the sitting NPC may be prolonged but such prolongation must be approved by a majority vote of more than two-thirds of all the members of its standing committee. Article 58 stipulates: Sessions of the NPC will be held once a year. Extraordinary sessions may be convened when the standing committee deems this necessary or when more than one-fifth of the deputies so propose. In this way, the term of office of the NPC and the times for the holding of sessions are more clearly stipulated and fixed and cannot be advanced or postponed at random.

//3. The organization of standing committees of people's congresses at various levels is strengthened and their functions and powers are extended.//

The people's congresses in our country are socialist state organs of power. They are organizations of the Paris commune type, which discuss problems and implement decisions. They should not become parliamentary type "places for idle talks," but should be work organs in charge of both administration and legislation. According to the situation of our country at present, the draft revised constitution has extended the functions and powers of the NPC Standing Committee. It stipulates: 1) The NPC Standing Committee enjoys the same legislative power as the NPC and can enact laws and decrees. It can partially amend and supplement the basic laws enacted by the NPC. 2) The NPC Standing Committee has the power to interpret the constitution and supervise its enforcement. 3) Members of the NPC Standing Committee shall not hold posts in organs of state administration or the judicial and procuratorial organs. 4) The chairman, vice chairmen and secretary-general of the NPC Standing Committee are the participants in the chairmanship conference to attend to the standing committee's important routine work. 5) Under the direction of the NPC Standing Committee, a nationalities committee, a law committee, a financial and economic affairs committee, an education and science committee, a foreign affairs committee and other necessary special committees are set up to discuss and draw up relevant bills. 6) When deemed necessary, the NPC Standing Committee may appoint commissions of inquiry for the investigation of specific questions. All state organs, public organizations and citizens concerned are obliged to supply the necessary information to these commissions when they conduct investigations.

7) Deputies to the people's congresses of counties are directly elected by the voters. Standing committees are established in the local people's congresses at and above the county level. 8) In the same way as their corresponding people's congresses, the standing committees of people's congresses of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government enjoy the local statute legislative power. They may formulate and promulgate local statutes on condition that these do not contravene the constitution, laws, decrees and general administrative statutes. 9) The chairman or a vice chairman of the standing committee of the people's congress of each province, autonomous region and municipality directly under the central government attends the sessions of the NPC Standing Committee in order to strengthen the ties between the NPC Standing Committee and the localities and masses. From the foregoing stipulations we can see that the organization of the standing committees of the people's congresses in our country has been strengthened and their functions and power have been extended. They can carry out a lot of legislative work more effectively. Better conditions are provided for them to carry out regular supervision over other state organs. They can also link the work of the NPC Standing Committee with that of the standing committees of local people's congresses organically and in good time. These stipulations have to a very great extent made up for the drawback that the number of deputies to the people's congresses at various levels is great and the session time is short, which gave rise to inconvenience in discussing and deciding important questions. This shows that there is indeed a relatively great development in the people's congress system in our country and that it is more consolidated than ever before.

//4. A better guarantee is provided for people's deputies to exercise their functions and powers.//

Firstly, it was stipulated in the 1954 constitution that no deputy to the NPC may be arrested or placed on trial without the consent of the presidium of the current NPC session or the consent of its standing committee. This stipulation has been restored. Secondly, it is stipulated that deputies to the NPC, during its sessions, and members of its standing committee, during sessions of the latter, have the right to put forward bills of inquiry, according to procedures prescribed by law, to the State Council, the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme People's Procuratorate and the ministries and commissions under the State Council, which are all under obligation to answer. Besides, it is also stipulated that deputies to the NPC shall not be subjected to legal investigation for speeches or votes at its meetings. All these stipulations are of great significance in further consolidating and strengthening the people's congress system in our country.

CSO: 4005/1226

## PARTY AND STATE

### DANGER OF 'PEACEFUL EVOLUTION' EMPHASIZED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 5, 1982 p 88

[Commentary by Ding Shi [0002 1395]: "Beward of 'Peaceful Evolution'"]

[Text] At a time when the entire nation, from top to bottom, is winning many victories in attacking all sorts of criminal acts in the economic sphere, the party Central Committee and the State Council have once again explicitly stipulated that the importing, reproduction, selling, or dissemination of reactionaly, decadent, and obscene recordings and films is strictly forbidden, and the rubbish in the spiritual realm is to be eliminated.

That is a struggle with great political significance. That struggle is certain to affect profoundly the strengthening of the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization and material civilization, the rectification of the party style, the transformation of the popular style, the consolidation of the socialist regime, and vigilance toward "peaceful transformation."

During the past several years our country has implemented a policy of lifting restrictions on contacts with foreign countries. By means of that policy, advanced scientific technology has been introduced from abroad and useful construction capital has been attracted, in order to accelerate our rate of socialist construction. That policy is undoubtedly correct and must continue to be resolutely implemented and carried out. However, at the same time bad elements within and without our country are taking advantage of our policy to, via all channels, import into our country large quantities of all kinds of recording and films which promote the decadent capitalist life style and are even extremely reactionary. Even in the capitalist world such things are considered to be in essence extremely obscene and decadent. However, in our Communist Party-led socialist country there are, surprisingly, some people who treasure such spiritual garbage and by countless schemes import, duplicate, sell, and disseminate it, thus seriously poisoning and corrupting many people, especially the souls of youth, spoiling our party style and social atmosphere, fostering criminal activities, and affecting social order. It is closely tied in with smuggling, blackmarketing, corruption, thievery, speculation, and other kinds of criminal activities in the economic sphere, and constitute a great danger of degeneration and deterioration within our party and country. We certainly must fully recognize the dangerous nature of that problem and conscientiously deal with it.

Some of our comrades relatively easily recognize the danger of war but are lacking in vigilance toward "peaceful transformation." Under the present conditions, enemies within and without our country are, with the use of influence, attacking by means of the corrosive influences and sugarcoated bullets of decadent capitalist and feudalism ideology, to win over, corrupt, and conquer weal-willed people within our ranks and the young generation, in order to carry out "peaceful transformation." We absolutely must not lower our guard in that respect. Our party must be firm and strong enough to withstand the corrosive effects of the "germs," and not be stricken by them. But no enemy is strong enough to fell us. In that sense, the principal danger is from the unstable degenerated and deteriorated elements within the party. Therefore, we must strengthen the political-ideological work, in order to spur the entire party, the entire army, and the entire population to arise to eliminate spiritual garbage, guard against "peaceful evolution," and work together to build a high-level socialist spiritual civilization.

The key to vigilance against "peaceful evolution" is the middle and upper echelons of leadership cadres. Our party is a party which holds political power, and most of its authority is in the hands of leadership cadres at the middle and upper levels. Their spiritual condition greatly influences the ordinary members and the popular masses. Their attitude toward the anti-corruption struggle directly determines whether or not the Central Committee's stipulations can be carried out in the area, department, or unit they lead. We ardently hope that leadership cadres at the middle and upper levels will set a good example in the anticorruption struggle, bravely lead the broad popular masses in eliminating spiritual garbage, be on guard against "peaceful evolution," and unrelentingly struggle to build a high-level socialist spiritual civilization.

5616

CSO: 4005/1079



PARTY AND STATE

PRC PAPER REVIEWS CHANGES SINCE 3D PLENARY SESSION

HK020818 Beijing QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 24 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Sun Ruiyuan [1327 3843 8787]: "Marxist Ideological Line Is the Guarantee for Victory--Reviewing the Great Changes That Have Taken Place Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee--1"]

[Text] Editor's note: Since the downfall of the "gang of four," particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there have been great changes in the whole situation of our country. On the eve of the convocation of the historically significant 12th CPC National Congress, we review the arduous and brilliant course of the past few years, and our hearts are inspired with enthusiasm and we are filled with a profound feeling of the correctness of the CPC Central Committee leadership.

During the past few years, the party has led us to cure the scars caused by the 10 years turbulence and has brought order out of chaos ideologically, theoretically, politically and economically. Our party has reestablished the Marxist ideological, political and organizational line. We have an unprecedented political situation of stability and unity. The party Central Committee has made a strategic policy to shift the focus to socialist modernization. We have readjusted the national economy according to the concrete conditions of our country, and instituted the production responsibility system in rural areas, which has accelerated the pace of agricultural development. We have perfected socialist democracy and strengthened the socialist legal system, solved the remaining problems of history and rehabilitated a large number of unjust, false and misjudged cases. The cause of science, culture, education and public health is one vast scene of prosperity. The building of socialist spiritual civilization is vigorously developing throughout the country and this has brought profound changes in the social mood and people's mental outlook.

Our party has led the people of the whole country in victoriously realizing the task of bringing order out of chaos, accomplished the great historical transformation and raised the curtain for the new situation of building socialist modernization in an all-round way. Starting from today, we will issue articles of review to greet, together with the hundreds of millions of young people, the convocation of the 12th CPC National Congress. [End editor's note]

At the time when the 12th CPC National Congress is about to open, we will review the past and look forward to the future, and our hearts are filled with joy.

Since the 11th CPC National Congress, particularly since the 3d CPC Plenary Session, there have been profound changes in the mental outlook of our party and country. The most noticeable change is that we have restored the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from practice and linking theory with practice. On the basis of this ideological line, the party has formulated the correct political line, policy and tactics, and has led the people of the whole country in achieving new victories in the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Historical experience teaches us that when a proletarian political party struggles for the cause of socialism and communism, it must have a Marxist ideological line. With this ideological line, revolution and construction advances and wins victory; and if it deviates from this ideological line, revolution construction retreats and fails. This is an objective truth. Through prolonged revolutionary practice and particularly through the Yanan rectification, the Communist Party of China has established the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from practice and linking theory with practice. This is an important cause for the victory won in the democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction. But this ideological line was sabotaged by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques during the "Great Cultural Revolution." The Third CPC Plenary Session corrected the "leftist" mistake in the guiding ideology, brought order out of chaos and resumed the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, thus enabling the socialist cause to prosper in all fronts. This is a great historical contribution of the 3d CPC plenary session.

We have extensively carried out propaganda and education in the ideological line among the cadres and masses in the past few years for the sake of rooting the ideological line of seeking truth from facts in the hearts of the people and making it the guiding principle of the whole party and the people of the whole country. This is a most fundamental order brought out of chaos. We have unfolded the discussion of the problem of the criteria of truth, criticized the "two whatevers," stressed having a broad and accurate grasp of Mao Zedong Thought as a system, advocated doing away with superstitions and emancipating our minds, reaffirmed upholding the four basic principles, combated bourgeois liberalization, and demanded that the cadres study new conditions, solve new problems, and oppose rigid ways of thinking. This propaganda and education were quite fruitful. It has brought new vigor and vitality to the party and country, expedited the progress of the building of the four modernizations and will have far reaching influence in the social development of our country.

This is a deepgoing movement of ideological emancipation. Engels said: "If you want to have a clear understanding of theory, the best way is to study from your own mistakes and painful experiences." With their own experiences, particularly the experience of the great cultural revolution, the broad masses of cadres and people have deeply understood that seeking truth from facts,

proceeding all from practice and linking theory with practice is the fundamental point of proletarian world outlook. The quintessence of Mao Zedong Thought, the basis for the party to formulate the line, principle and policy, and the guarantee for us to correctly comprehend and implement the line, principle and policy of the party. On the other hand, the subjectivist ideological line is opposed to Marxism; it is a formidable enemy of the party and people and a manifestation of an impurity of party spirit. Only by eliminating subjectivism can Marxism truth gain ground, party spirit be consolidated and revolution and construction win victory.

We have exposed and criticized Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company in creating confusion in the ideological line through the study of the ideological line in seeking truth from facts, eradicated the spiritual shackles imposed by them, clarified the erroneous viewpoint spread before the "Great Cultural Revolution," and enabled the cadres and masses to liberate themselves from the fetters of idealism. The suffocating and depressing atmosphere has cleared up and there has appeared an unprecedentedly vivid and vigorous scene in the political life of the country.

The changes are tremendous. If we review the situation of the past few years and compare it with the situation before the Third CPC Plenary Session, we are aware that the ideological level and spiritual state of affairs of the cadres and masses have really changed. These are prominently expressed as follows:

1. They have eradicated dogmatism and understood the correct handling of theory. Marxist theory is a guide for action and not a religious doctrine. Through the study of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, the cadres and masses have universally realized that Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company distorted and misrepresented Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, violated its spirit and essence and regarded every sentence of Comrade Mao Zedong as truth, law and a rigid dogma. This is completely wrong. It is imperative to combat dogmatism and oppose all that proceeds from bookishness. The idea that what is written in a book is not to be altered, and that what is not written is not to be spoken and done is intolerable. We must broadly and accurately grasp and apply Mao Zedong Thought, get rid of superstitious ideas, emancipate our minds, regard practice as the criterion of truth and apply Marxism linked with practice. Only by doing so can we develop theory and genuinely hold high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

2. They got rid of personality cults and understood the correct way of treating leaders. Personality cults once brought extreme adversity toward the Chinese people. Through the study of ideological line and practicality and realistically studying the role of leaders in the development of history, all the cadres and masses understood that a proletarian leader is an organizer and leader of the masses of the people, that there must be a leader in the revolution and construction cause and that the cadres and people must love and defend their leader. But we must never deify our leader, or indulge in personality cults. We must not condone personal arbitrariness, or practice "patriarchal system" and "letting only one person have the say." Comrade Mao Zedong is a great Marxist and a proletarian revolutionary, and has performed

immortal feats for the Chinese people. He committed mistakes in his later years and this caused losses to party work. However, in his life, his contributions should be the priority factor and his mistakes in the secondary factor. They were mistakes committed by a great proletarian revolutionary. Lin Biao and the Jiang Qing gangs deified Comrade Mao Zedong and denied that he had any defects and mistakes. This is what we must repudiate. But we must not only look at Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes or even exaggerate them. Due to Mao Zedong's mistakes committed in his later years, some people try to belittle him, or even negate and slander him. This is completely wrong.

3. They have eliminated one-sidedness and understood that it is necessary to wage struggle on two fronts. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company clamored for opposing of rightism and did not allow opposition to "leftism," and even regarded things that are correct and Marxism as "right deviationist" and opposed them. Recently, some people have gone to the other extreme, only allowing opposition to "leftism" and not to "rightism" or even regarding upholding the four basic principles as "leftist," and not allowing the repudiation of bourgeois liberalization. After the study of the problem of ideological line, all the cadres and masses realized that in order to practically and realistically carry on the struggle to combat erroneous trends, we must oppose both "leftism" and rightism; wherever there appears any kind of erroneous trend, we must oppose it. The practice of subjectivism and laying down hard and rigid rules to only allow the opposition to one type of erroneous trend and not allow the opposition to the other is incorrect and very harmful.

4. They have got rid of a tendency to boasting and exaggeration and are understood to reflect objective things as they really are. During the study of the ideological line, the vast number of cadres and masses summed up the historical experiences and realized the harmfulness of bragging, telling lies and the inclination toward boasting and exaggeration, and further understood the importance of talking, doing and being honest. At present, there is a mood in which those who accurately report the situation are being praised, while those who practice fraud are being despised, with serious bases being punished by party discipline and the state law. This is a great transformation in social mood.

5. They have done away with conservative ideas and understood to study new conditions and solve new problems. The building of the four modernizations is a cause that has never been done before by our predecessors. There are many new conditions and new problems. After the study of the ideological line, the cadres and masses realized that they cannot lie on their past experiences but must dare to explore. Objective reality is constantly developing, as is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We must use our wisdom and intelligence and hard work to open up a way for advance. In the course of studying new conditions and solving new problems, we must try to find out the law of building socialism, create a new way to build modern socialism in Chinese style and score a new victory for Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought.

Marx said: "Once theory is mastered by the masses, it turns into material force." At present, the ideological line of seeking truth from facts,

proceeding from practice and linking theory with practice has become a practical action of the vast number of cadres and masses, and this is gratifying news to all of us. Our task is to persist in and further penetrate in implementing this ideological line and transforming it into a strong force in building modern socialism to win still greater victories in the socialist cause.

CSO: 4005/1286

## PARTY AND STATE

### PRC PAPER SEES STABILIZING SITUATION, UNITY

HK031312 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 26 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Gao Zhiyu [7559 2535 3842]: "Happy To See China's Political Situation Characterized by Stability and Unity--Reviewing the Great Changes Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee--Part 2"]

[Text] The convocation of the 12th CPC National Congress is getting closer. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the 12th CPC National Congress will continue to implement the correct line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11 CPC Central Committee, sum up the experiences of our party in leading the building of socialist modernization, further point out the fighting orientation for the people of the whole country and initiate a great and new situation in the building of socialist modernization in our country.

During the decade-long "Great Cultural Revolution," due to the shocking political disruption stirred up by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, our economic construction was seriously destroyed and the masses of people were very worried and heavyhearted. The downfall of the "gang of four" marked the end of the turbulent era. The majority of the Chinese people have drawn lessons from the turbulent and intranquil "Great Cultural Revolution." They ardently expect that the party can rapidly cure the scars of internal disorder so that our country can once again proceed on the road of normal development.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in conformity with the demands of history and the expectations of the people, the party Central Committee has adopted a variety of measures to lead the people of the whole country to work for the restoration and development of a political situation characterized by stability and unity.

The "leftist" rubbish and the dictatorship of feudal fascism pursued by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique is the cause of ruin and the reason why the people could not feel tranquility for a long period. Only by thoroughly exposing and criticizing their pernicious influence and effects politically, ideologically, theoretically and organizationally, could we fundamentally ensure the stability of the country, the unity of the people and the progress of our cause. That is why, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has firmly grasped exposing and

criticizing the crimes of the "gang of four" and factionalist setup throughout the country, publicly brought to trial the 10 principal criminals of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and attacked and disintegrated the remaining forces of the "gang of four." After investigation, we have basically destroyed the counterrevolutionary forces of the "gang of four," readjusted and strengthened the leadership bodies at various levels and basically resumed normal order in all walks of life. In the same time, we have rehabilitated one by one all the unjust, false and misjudged cases fabricated by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, so that large numbers of cadres and masses could be liberated from the circumstances of being persecuted and involved, and the masses of people could be more at ease of mind.

Our party has resolutely ceased the use of the slogan "Take Class Struggle as the Key Link," which is no longer suitable to socialist society, made the strategic decision to transfer the focal point of the work toward the building of socialist modernization and clearly defined that we will not artificially launch any political movement in order to prevent a repeat of mistakes in magnifying class struggle. Meanwhile we have abolished the so-called "speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters" which is disadvantageous to carrying forward socialist democracy, and resumed, formulated and put in force a variety of important laws, decree and ordinances, which have strengthened judicial, procuratorial and public security work, and attacked all kinds of serious criminal offenders and criminal activities in the economic field. This has stabilized the people's minds in general and eradicated the hidden peril that caused the confusing situation.

The implementation of various policies is another significant measure in mobilizing all positive factors and promoting stability and unity. In the past few years, in line with the principle of seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes whenever discovered, our party has seized the opportune moment to solve large numbers of problems left over by history. We have implemented the party's policy on cadres and fully aroused and brought into play the initiative of veteran cadres who are a valuable wealth of the party and the country. The various economic policies in agriculture formulated and practiced after the 3d CPC Plenary Session were also earnestly implemented and the situation in rural areas is better than ever before. The problem of 800 million peasants is a matter of great importance. If this matter is stabilized, it can promote a situation of stability in the whole country. In urban areas, the party and government have put forth efforts to gradually solve the employment problem of large numbers of young people who are waiting for jobs; the situation in urban areas is also turning for the better. Meanwhile, the party vigorously has implemented the policy on intellectuals, fully affirming and pay attention to giving full play to the role of intellectuals in the building of the four modernizations and earnestly improving the conditions of their work, life and political treatment, so that they can exert their talents and play a greater role in the building of the four modernizations. Our party has also conscientiously carried out the policy toward nationalities and the united front, and further improved the relations between nationalities, strengthened national unity and aroused the initiative of the



people of various nationalities and nonparty patriotic and democratic person-ages in our country. This is a forceful impetus in developing a situation of stability and unity.

Our country experienced 10 years of internal disorder, and the fundamental reason we have been able to achieve stable and normal development in politics, the economy and other aspects in the short time of few years is because the Communist Party is the leader of our country. At present, our party has resumed the system of democratic centralism, the central leadership organ has realized the principle of collective leadership and we have a perfect organizational structure. This is an organizational guarantee for the prolonged stability of the political situation in our country.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, while paying close attention to upholding party leadership, the party Central Committee also has stressed improving party leadership and emphasized grasping the major issues of perfecting the political life within the party and earnestly building well the party work style. Our party has formulated "on certain requirements of the political life within the party," and established the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. It has important significance in resuming and carrying forward the fine tradition and work style of the party, perfecting the democratic life of the party and raising the party's fighting spirit.

The party Central Committee has repeatedly admonished the whole party to unswervingly build the party work style well, and consider the problem of party work style as a matter of life and death for the party, and mobilize all the people within and outside the party who have deep love and who support the party to have concern for our party's work style. With the unremitting efforts of the whole party and the people of the whole country, were surmounting the unhealthy tendencies that exist within the party. The betterment of the party work style will inevitably lead the people's mood and the general mood of society to turn for the better and energetically promote the situation of stability and unity.

Our country is now at an important juncture in history as we are carrying forward the revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future. The people of the whole country hope that our country will have long-lasting peace and stability, and expect that our cause will flourish and prosper. The 12th CPC National Congress will promote a long, stable political situation in our country and our socialist modernization cause will achieve still greater and brilliant victory.

CSO: 4005/1286



## PARTY AND STATE

### 'LIAOWANG' ON CPC POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

HK040600 Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 7 20 Jul 82 pp 2-3

[Article by Xu Minhe [1776 3046 0735] and Yang Ruimin [2799 3843 2404]: "The Party Central Committee Is Concerned About Middle-Aged Intellectuals"]

[Text] On 18 June there was a day-to-day business meeting going on in the State Council inside Zhongnanhai. When touching upon the matter that the socialist system should guarantee the interior of society the inherent impetus of obtaining technical progress, Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out that the key to the implementation of the policy toward intellectuals lies in the solution of the problem of middle-aged intellectuals. This is a matter of liberating productive forces. The working and living conditions of middle-aged intellectuals should be solved. It will not do not to solve their problems.

Ten days later, on the afternoon of 28 June, in the Ziguang Chamber in Zhongnanhai, Premier Zhao Ziyang met with a scholar of American nationality, Professor Wu Jianxiong, and her husband Professor Yuan Jialiu. During their conversation, Premier Zhao said, "At present the emphasis on the implementation of our country's policy toward intellectuals should be put on the solution of the problem of middle-aged intellectuals. Their working and living conditions should gradually improve. They bare the backbone of various departments of the state in charge of important tasks, yet the burden of life they bear is heavy, and their living conditions are rather poor. Therefore, the state has made up its mind to solve the problem of the well-being of middle-aged intellectuals in the coming few years. Only once the problem of middle-aged intellectuals is solved, will the young intellectuals have something to look forward to. This is of great significance to the development of our country's educational and scientific cause.

This policy announced by Premier Zhao Ziyang embodies the concern and the attention of the party and the people for middle-aged intellectuals. This is the continuation and development of our party's consistent policy on intellectuals.

People still remember that Comrade Deng Xiaoping once said something significant to the scientific and technological personnel--and in a broad sense it was spoken to the broad mass of intellectuals--which lingers on one's mind.

He said: "I would like to be your director of the logistics department. I would like to be of good service in this respect, together with the comrades at different levels of the party committee."

This is what he said in March 1978 at the opening ceremony of the National Congress of Science. What he said drew thunderous applause at the Great Hall of the People at that time. It is in this speech that he, on behalf of the party Central Committee, announced that "the majority of the intellectuals in our country have become part of the proletariat," "part of the laboring people."

Since the fall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC National Congress, our party has done a great deal to solve the problems of intellectuals, such as concerning their working and living conditions.

With the gradual implementation of the policy of a large number of elderly intellectuals who were accused of being the so-called "bourgeoise academic authority," the problems of the policies concerning middle-aged intellectuals appear to be conspicuous.

The party Central Committee had noticed this question in good time.

At the Central Committee work conference held at the end of 1980, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out that we had a total of several million graduates from institutions of higher education and self-taught scientific and technical personnel and they had 10-20 years of experience in practical work training. It is certain that the scientific and technical level in the seventies and the eighties should come from the scientific and technical backbones of the levels of the fifties and sixties.

The CPC Central Committee organization department and related departments such as the former scientific and technical cadre bureau of the State Council have carried out investigation and study on how to display the role of middle-aged and young intellectuals.

The former Scientific and Technical Cadre Bureau of the State Council held a special forum, with middle-aged and young scientific and technical workers attending, to discuss this problem. In September 1981, they wrote a "report on fully displaying the role of middle-aged and young scientific and technical cadres" to the party Central Committee and the State Council.

In January 1982, the party Central Committee wrote instructions on this report and distributed it, together with other related reports from the organization department of the Central Committee, the propaganda department and the United Front Ministry. And they issued "an announcement by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on making an examination on policy toward intellectuals."

The announcement pointed out that our party had always emphasized that things cannot be done well without intellectuals. We need to establish an army

contingent of cadres who persist in taking the socialist road and possess specialized knowledge and ability. History has proved that our country's broad mass of intellectuals, together with the workers and peasants, have played a great role in revolution and construction. They are an indispensable and important force to rely on in the cause of constructing socialist modernization. However, because "leftist" errors and influence in the past have not been entirely eliminated, there are still leading cadres in some areas and units who do not have a complete understanding of the role and status intellectuals play in the new period. They have not done their best in the implementation of the related policies issued by the Central Committee since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC National Congress. What is worse, they have not shown much concern for middle-aged and young intellectuals. Many people's talents cannot be fully brought out. Problems they countered in their work, study and daily living are not well handled. The fundamental way to solve this problem is by earnestly implementing the Central Committee's policies concerning intellectuals, further removing people's prejudice against them, people within the party and in society. One must wholeheartedly do the following: Politically, treat them equally without discrimination; when assigning work, boldly use them; and in daily living, take care of them. The announcement specially pointed out that at present most of the backbones of vocational work of all walks of life were middle-aged intellectuals and the work they were in charge of was particularly heavy, yet their working, studying and living conditions were rather poor. Something must be done to help solve their practical problems in real earnest, problems that should be solved and can be solved by making efforts. The announcement demanded that the party committee at different levels check the work of intellectuals in the first 6 months of the year. They should study, stipulate and improve measures in real earnest to achieve substantial results.

This announcement of the party Central Committee is another significant decision made on the policy toward intellectuals in the new period since the National Congress of Science.

Since the issuance of the announcement, various departments of the Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the National Political Consultative Conference, the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have all attached great importance to it. They have organized investigation groups in succession to check the implementation of the policies of intellectuals and have adopted measures to make further improvements.

Taking their investigations into consideration, the problems of middle-aged intellectuals have definitely reached such a stage that it won't do not to solve them.

A great number of facts indicate that the middle-aged intellectuals have played an important role on different fronts, e.g. there are 3,660 teachers in Qinghua University, and 2,360 of them are middle-aged teachers who graduated between 1950 and before the cultural revolution. They make up 64 percent of the total number of teachers in the university. In the first half of this year, the school offered a total of 271 courses with 515 lecturers in charge. Among them, 469 are middle-aged teachers and they make up 91 percent of the total

number of teachers. In the whole university, among the 431 teachers who are in charge of the field work, 344 of them are middle-aged. They make up 80 percent of the total number. As for the Chinese Academy of Science, from 1978 to 1979 there were 179 people in the 28 units in the Beijing region who won national scientific and technical achievement awards of the first and second grade from 1978 to 1979. Of them, 166 are middle-aged, which is 92.73 percent of the total number of people who have won awards. The 12 scientific and technical personnel of the Ministry of Machinery Industry who won the national invention award in 1980 are all middle-aged intellectuals. The Shenyang Foundry Institute in the past 3 years has won 38 awards (including the achievement award of the National Science Congress and other awards). All of them are the fruits of research by middle-aged intellectuals.

Nevertheless, middle-aged intellectuals encounter plenty of difficulties in their work. Some of them run short of necessary apparatuses, equipment, reference books, information materials and subsidiary labor. Under the influence of the thinking that "one's merit should be measured by one's qualifications" some intellectuals suffer suppression and negligence; some are just under-employed and have not received proper training and redressing and so on and so forth.

They also come across many difficulties in their daily life. In 1956 the State Council issued the salary standard for higher education professions. However, at present, the salary level of middle-aged teachers is generally lower than this standard. Taking the Central China Engineering Institute as an example, among the 336 assistant professors in this institute, none of them receives the highest pay for assistant professors set by the salary standard of higher education professions (that is, grade four of higher education), and there are only 14 people who are above the lowest salary standard line (that is, grade six of higher education). They make up merely 4 percent of the total number of assistant professors. The other 96 percent of the assistant professors are all below the lowest standard salary line. Some of them are still receiving the salary of assistant lecturers. Among the 1,156 lecturers of the institute, not only do none of them receive the highest standard salary line for lecturers (grade six of higher education), but there are only as many as 61 people who have reached the lowest standard salary line of lecturers and they make up 5 percent of the total number of lecturers. According to a typical investigation of universities and colleges of higher education such as Beijing University, Qinghua University, Nanking University, etc, the situation is more or less the same, and so is the situation for middle-aged intellectuals in government organizations, departments of culture, science and technique, the news media, etc.

Since middle-aged intellectuals receive low pay, the average cost of living of many families is even lower than the lowest standard of living of the city they live in. Many middle-aged intellectuals must repair bicycles, taking in washing, go shopping, do the cooking and whatever for themselves.

Modern scientific techniques are advancing at an amazingly fast speed. While doing their work, intellectuals must at the same time keep abreast of developments in their field. However, the living conditions of the middle-aged intellectuals now are not favorable for furthering their studies and achieving vocational improvement.

The imminent housing problem at present is a common social problem, yet to the intellectuals, the situation seems to be more conspicuous. Lodgings are not only the places where they live and eat, but are also indispensable environment for labor because much of their work and studies take place in their houses, and therefore improving their living conditions appear to be more urgent.

Owing to the poor living conditions, and the heavy burden borne by middle-aged intellectuals, they are run down by overwork, and their health is going from bad to worse. In many units, the death rate of middle-aged intellectuals has surprisingly surpassed that of senile people.

Problems found in the implementation of the policies concerning intellectuals have accumulated because of the influence of the "leftist" guiding thought. This "leftist" influence is mainly shown in the negligence of knowledge, the underestimation of the [word indistinct] of intellectuals and a certain prejudice against intellectuals. Work done by intellectuals is a sort of complex and hard mental labor. This sort of labor requires the pooling and accumulation of knowledge, and therefore some essential working and studying conditions are needed.

The mental labor of intellectuals creates value. The more advanced human beings are, and the more developed the society is, the bigger the proportion mental labor will occupy in all social labor. This is especially obvious in the realm of science and technology. The achievements of science and the progress of technology play important roles in raising the labor productivity of society and improving economic effects. According to the estimation of quite a few economists, when the world entered the seventies, labor productivity was raised. Between 60-80 percent of labor depended on the adopting of new techniques. Yet this is not always fully estimated, just as Marx said: "The estimation of mental labor (science) is inevitably far lower than its value."

We should have sufficient understanding of the role and status of intellectuals in the new historical period. Middle-aged intellectuals should merit our special attention because they are a generation forming a link between the past and the future, carry forward the cause pioneered by our predecessors and forge ahead in to the future. The grievances and difficulties of middle-aged intellectuals should be solved, so that they can later pick up the heavy burden. This is a significant problem concerning the prospect of the construction of the four modernizations. We must realize this with a strategic eye and in a sober way. Fully displaying the role of middle-aged intellectuals means opening a trail for the growth of the young intellectuals. It also means basically solving the problems of all intellectuals. Improvements in the living and working conditions of intellectuals should be regarded as a project of capital construction, and the basis of capital construction as well.

As early as 1956, Comrade Chou En-lai pointed out in his "Report About the Problems of Intellectuals:" "The salary of intellectuals should be properly adjusted according to the principle of drawing pay according to work, so that their salary is more or less equivalent to their contribution to the state.

The tendency of equalitarianism in the salary system and other irrational phenomena should be done away with." At present, our country still has many difficulties, and the living conditions of middle-aged intellectuals cannot be completely changed overnight. The mass of middle-aged intellectuals should make allowances for the country's difficulties. They should share the burden with the country, and share joy and sorrow with the mass of people. Although the state is facing financial difficulties, the party Central Committee has decided to solve the problem of the well-being of middle-aged intellectuals. This discussion meets with the socialist law of economy, as well as the long-term interests of the people. We ought to overcome the "leftist" influence and the tendency of equalitarianism, and then earnestly carry out the decision.

CSO: 4005/1294

PARTY AND STATE

34TH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW021035 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0024 GMT 30 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 30 Aug (XINHUA)--Thirty-fourth lecture on draft revised constitution: "The Neighborhood Committees and Villagers' Committees Provided for by the Draft Revised Constitution."

The draft revised constitution stipulates that neighborhood committees and villagers' committees are established in urban and rural residential districts as mass organizations of self-government at primary level. Practice has proven that these committees are an important form of organization which is practical and can be adopted on a long-term basis in China. They have played a significant role in mediating disputes among people, safeguarding social order and running public establishments and public welfare institutions.

The establishment of neighborhood committees and villagers' committees in China is an important way and the best organizational form through which the people's direct democracy in social life at the grassroots level can be realized gradually and through which the working people can participate in managing the state.

The establishment of these committees is also necessary for strengthening the grassroots organs of the state. The draft revised constitution stipulates that grassroots organs of the state have the duty to relay residents' opinions and demands to the people's governments, to make suggestions and exercise supervision over the people's governments. To accomplish this task, the grassroots organs of the state can strengthen their ties with the masses, mobilize and organize them to implement the state's constitution, laws, decrees, administrative rules and regulations and plans and develop economic and cultural construction, public work and public welfare work in their respective areas.

The draft revised constitution's provision on the establishment of neighborhood committees and villagers' committees indicates a new development and improvement in China's democratic system and also embodies the class nature of our organs of state and state system and the superiority of the socialist system.

CSO: 4005/1295

## PARTY AND STATE

### 35TH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW020919 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0105 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 31 Aug (XINHUA)--Thirty-fifth and last lecture on draft revised constitution: "The Relations Among the Public Security Organs, People's Courts and People's Procuratorates as Provided for by the Draft Revised Constitution."

The draft revised constitution stipulates that "people's courts, people's procuratorates and public security organs shall, in handling criminal cases, divide their functions, each taking responsibility for their own work, and they shall coordinate with each other and restrict each other to ensure accurate and effective application of the law." This is a very important provision because it sums up China's judicial work.

During the "Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" destroyed the three organs and introduced the method of handling criminal cases in a coordinate process. This completely abolished the principles of the division of functions and responsibility and the mutual restriction among the three organs and created many frameups and erroneous cases. The law of criminal procedure promulgated in 1979 sums up our past experiences and lessons and explicitly stipulates these principles.

There is a clear division of functions among people's courts, people's procuratorates and public security organs as stipulated in the law of criminal procedure. Public security organs protect the security of the state. In prosecuting criminal cases, the people's procuratorate investigates cases that it deems necessary to handle directly. The investigation of other cases, detention of suspects and preliminary hearings are handled by the public security organs. The people's procuratorate supervises the laws of the state, prosecutes major criminal cases such as treason and subversion, investigates criminal cases which it accepts to hear, examines cases investigated by the public security organs and decides on arrests, prosecution and exemptions from prosecution. The people's court is the trial organ of the state and tries all criminal and civil cases.

In handling criminal cases, people's courts, people's procuratorates and public security organs implement the principal of coordinating with each other and restricting each other in the following ways: In the course of investigating



a case, in the public security organ desires to arrest the suspect, it must get the approval of the people's procuratorate. After completing investigations, the public security organ must submit all cases to the people's procuratorate for examination and decision on whether the cases should be prosecuted or exempted from prosecution. If the public security organ disputes the people's procuratorate's disapproval of an arrest and decision on exemption from prosecution, it may ask for reconsideration.

People's courts, people's procuratorates and public security organs are China's important organs of state and are an important tool for enforcing the people's democratic dictatorship. The objective of the division of functions, mutual coordination and mutual restriction is to accomplish the tasks of protecting the people, punishing criminals, striking at the enemies, protecting the construction of the four modernizations and defending the socialist system. Division of functions and responsibility will enable the three organs to execute their respective functions and shoulder their respective responsibilities in handling criminal cases. This aids the strict enforcement of the work responsibility system in order to raise work efficiency. Mutual coordination and mutual restriction enable the three organs to pool collective wisdom and do their respective work well in handling criminal cases. This aids the thorough and comprehensive investigation of cases in order to prevent mistakes and the accurate application of the law in order to raise the quality of handling cases.

CSO: 4005/1295

## PARTY AND STATE

### BREIFS

DANGER OF SUGARCOATED BULLETS--There is not merely one kind of sugarcoated bullet, but at least two kinds: one kind is material sugarcoated bullets, such as money, beautiful women, foreign-made goods, etc. They corrupt us materially. There is also a spiritual kind of sugarcoated bullet, such as capitalist ideological viewpoints, culture and art, lifestyle, etc. They corrupt us ideologically as to weaken our will, disintegrate our conviction, and confuse our thinking. We must be on guard against both kinds of sugarcoated bullets. [Text] [Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 12, 1982 p 51] 5616

IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL WORK--The party Central Committee has many times emphasized the necessity of stressing the ideological-political work. What the Central Committee means by ideological-political work is definitely not certain simplified methods that were promoted under the "leftist" guiding ideology, but requesting party organizations at all levels to, on the basis of the characteristics of the new period, defend the battlefield position of socialism and communism against all thoughts and acts that are erroneous and harmful to the socialist cause; carry out criticism with compelling arguments and persuasive force; carry out education that is appropriate to the masses' personal experiences and personal interests and teaches patriotism, collectivism, and communism; attack perverse trends; foster correct trends; and cause our people to become people with ideals, virtue, culture, and discipline. [Text] [Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 12, 1982 p 51] 5616

ASSIGNMENT OF RETIRED CADRES--It is necessary strictly to set up a system regarding demobilized and retired old cadres. Old cadres have worked prudently and conscientiously for decades and have made great contributions. They definitely must be properly assigned and given consideration in their postretirement lives so that they can be content in their later years. If capable people are assigned they are certain to bring honor to their positions. Some may participate in study classes, review the course of the struggle, summarize their experiences, and give help and set a good example in their work. Various miscellaneous organizations should not be set up. Old cadres should be organized at the basic level to perform tasks beneficial to society. [Text] [Beijing BAN TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 12, 1982 p 51] 5616

COMMUNIST IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION--The carrying out of communist ideological and moral education must be based on practice and adhere to the principle of gradual advance in the proper sequence. At present, among the workers it is necessary to concentrate on education that stresses the historical mission of the working class and its fine tradition, strengthen their "master of one's own house" sense of responsibility and the bringing into play of their main-force role in constructing the "two civilizations," and gradually overcome all kinds of backward thought unworthy of the progressive nature of the working class. Among the peasants, it is necessary to stress education which takes into consideration the three interests--state, collective, and individual--and advocates the rewards of labor, the "public first, self second" attitude, and finding pleasure in helping others. Among youths, it is necessary to stress education which teaches ardent love of the homeland, ardent love of the part, and ardent love of the socialist regime, and helps them gradually build a correct outlook on life and a correct world outlook. In the nationalities areas, it is necessary to stress education which makes progress in strengthening units of the nationalities. [Text] [Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 12, 1982 p 51] 5616

CSO: 4005/1079

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### HEALTH SERVICES CREDITED FOR IMPROVING HEALTH IN BEIJING

Beijing JIAN KANG BAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Chen Enjia [7115 1869 3946]: "The Weight and Height of Young People in the Beijing Have Increased"]

[Text] Since the founding of the republic, medical and health services have greatly developed in the capital Beijing. The height and weight of young people have increased by large margins, the mortality rate of population has greatly declined, the average life-span has kept increasing, the number of deaths due to infectious diseases has dropped from the first place in pre-liberation days to the sixth place. The mortality rate of population in Beijing Municipality was 12 per 1,000 in 1949 and has fallen to 6 per 1,000, down by half compared with 1949. At the early stage of liberation the average life-spans of men and women in Beijing Municipality were respectively 53.8 and 50.2 years, 18 and 24 years longer.

Thanks to development of medical and health services, the level of growth and development of children has all along shown an upward tendency. According to health checks carried out by the Beijing health department in 1981 on 180,000 children aged 3 and under in the rural districts, the physical development of children was generally up to the normal requirement, the height and weight of children were up to the average value and over, and babies gaining weight after completion of their first month of life reached 95 percent and more. Calculated on the basis of the growth rates of primary and middle school students for each 10 years, the average height of boy students increased 2.63 centimeters and their average weight increased 0.95 kg on average, the average height of girl students increased 2.22 centimeters and their average weight increased 0.95 kg. The height and weight of primary and middle school students in the capital increased at a rate approaching or surpassing that of children in some developed countries.

In order to control the outbreak and spread of infectious diseases, mass patriotic and health movements were launched in the municipal area in Beijing during 1952 to implement anti-epidemic measures, with the result that acute infectious diseases were brought under effective control, the incidence of some infectious diseases and deaths due to infectious diseases dropped, and people's health was protected in the municipal area. Now, all babies from

2 months to 7 years receive 11 kinds of anti-epidemic inoculations, totaling 15,000,000 person-times in the municipal area each year. With importance given to strengthening health and anti-epidemic work, the number of deaths due to infectious diseases has dropped from the first place in pre-liberation days to the sixth.

9780

CSO: 4005/1036

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### IMPROVING MARXISM-LENINISM CLASS AT HIGHER SCHOOLS DISCUSSED

Beijing JIAOXUE YU YANJIU [TEACHING AND RESEARCH] in Chinese No 2, 82, 31 Mar 82 pp 3-5

[Article by Zheng Da [6774 6671]: "On Reform of Marxism-Leninism Class in Schools of Higher Learning:"]

[Text] A few years ago instructors of Marxism-Leninism class (i.e., public political theory class, hereafter Marxism-Leninism class) at schools of higher learning were puzzled by a large number of questions: some schools don't take this class seriously enough; lack of suitable teaching materials and the necessary reference materials; class discipline is poor; some questions which are bold but hard to answer clearly and which we have been hearing for the past 10 years come from the students in a steady stream, the confusion in theory created by the 10 years of chaos has brought many difficulties to Marxism-Leninism class. In the past few years, with the continuing progress of the party in setting things right in politics, the economy and ideology, there have also been some delightful trends in Marxism-Leninism class.

Many students have taken a liking to the course and there has been a clear change for the better in class discipline. From the lectures of many teachers classmates have learned the importance of upholding the four basic principles, and acquired a powerful weapon for resisting the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalism. The arguments to "eliminate political theory class" are no longer heard very much.

There have been new developments in teaching and research work. Some new questions for which there were no ready-made answers "forced" teachers to investigate, further combining theory and practice. These results are also reflected in development of materials and teacher training and created the conditions for constantly improving teaching quality.

There have been evident improvements in teaching methods. To varying degrees political theory instruction in schools of higher learning have adopted the heuristic teaching method and have made some beneficial attempts to further develop the student's initiative to study.

Leadership has constantly been strengthened. On 7 July 1980 the Ministry of Education issued "Trial Methods for Improving and Strengthening Marxism-Leninism Class in Schools of Higher Learning" and provincial, municipal and

autonomous region education leadership sections and school party committees in response, strengthened leadership of Marxism-Leninism class, replenished the strength of Marxism-Leninism classrooms and laboratories and through listening to reports, reading documents, and purchasing books and materials paid attention to the work needs of the teacher. After October 1980 in particular, the party Central Committee's Propaganda Department resumed the leadership of Marxism-Leninism class and provincial, municipal and autonomous region party committees' propaganda departments became even more concerned about education in Marxist-Leninist theory in local schools of higher learning. All this greatly mobilized the initiative of the faculty and ensured the healthy development of Marxism-Leninism class.

Apart from the efforts of the teachers generally, winning these achievements is inseparable from the overall development of the political and economic situation. Since 1980 the party Central Committee at many important meetings and in many important documents has emphasized that we should strengthen ideological and political work among students and education of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has played an enormous guiding role in teaching Marxism-Leninism class and especially history of the Chinese Communist Party. In August 1981 the party Central Committee's Propaganda Department convened a conference on questions on the ideological front. Leadership comrades of the party Central Committee said that we should strengthen leadership of the party on the ideological front, improve lax and weak attitudes which would propel the party's ideological and political work as well as the teaching of Marxism-Leninism class.

Of course, there are still quite a few questions and difficulties. Some of them are in work, such as leadership, working conditions, faculty treatment, personnel assignments, guaranteeing class time, advanced study, etc., others are ones which were clearly stipulated in the Ministry of Education's "Trial Methods" but have not yet been implemented. Some are theoretical, for although there have been several years of setting things right some questions still have not yet been positively concluded; among students there is still this or that question about knowledge or attitude toward Marxism-Leninism class, and class discipline is still not completely satisfactory. Thus the vexation which troubled the faculty a couple of years ago still exist to some degree in some places.

How can these questions be resolved? Some people think that it is undoubtedly necessary for leadership to continue to emphasize the importance of Marxism-Leninism education, to do ideological and political work among students, and to raise their understanding of this curriculum; as far as Marxism-Leninism class itself is concerned, it should be improved and changed to correspond with the objective situation.

What should be reformed? Some comrades feel that the present Marxism-Leninism curriculum was fundamentally set in the fifties and the influence of the

Soviet Union is too great. These arrangements and the theoretical system are already behind present-day life. If we are to reform them we will have to dare to break down old conventions and consider increasing other courses in the social sciences and not limit ourselves to the present few offerings.

There are other comrades who think that the present curriculum of Marxism-Leninism is fundamentally appropriate and many years of practice has shown that it is effective in training students to become people who are both Red and expert and well-rounded. The question is that the system is out-of-date, the content is clearly cumbersome, linking theory and practice is insufficient and frequently it cannot answer the new questions which keep cropping up in actual political and economic life, students feel their "thirst is not quenched," and this problem should be resolved. Thus the reform of Marxism-Leninism class should consist of mainly improving teaching content and method but the curriculum itself need not be changed.

Whatever the viewpoint, when researching these questions there is always some basis and it is necessary not to depart from actual conditions.

"Resolution on Certain Historical Questions in the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" says: "We should strengthen and improve ideological and political work, use the Marxist-world view and Communist morality to teach the people and youth, uphold the educational principles of overall development of morality, mind and body, both Red and expert, the unity of intellectuals with workers and peasants, and the unity of intellectual labor and physical labor, to resist the influence of corrupt bourgeois ideology and the ideology of feudal remnants, to overcome the influence of petit bourgeois ideology, develop a patriotic spirit of the ancestral country's interests above everything else and the spirit of arduous work contributing all to the modernizations." This both set the direction for all school education as well as pointing out the direction for Marxism-Leninism theory education and is undoubtedly the fundamental basis on which we should consider the Marxism-Leninism curriculum.

The mission of the Marxism-Leninism class should be the specific basis for our research and reform. The Marxism-Leninism class in schools of higher learning is both a required course for students and a constituent part of the school's entire ideological and political work. Its characteristic should be that it is systematic education of students in Marxist-Leninist theory as distinct from current events education and daily ideological and political work of the party and the Communist Youth League. In the past overlooking this characteristic of the course made it frequently slapdash with the result that students never actually understood and mastered the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, not to mention applying these principles to guide their own work and lives and this lesson should not be forgotten.

Referring to the experience of Marxism-Leninism education in schools of higher learning after liberation, the mission of the Marxism-Leninism class should include the following: (1) help the students understand and master the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought completely and correctly and raise their socialist consciousness; (2) help the students



comprehend the party's line, principles and policies and self-consciously uphold the four basic principles; (3) help students gradually establish a proletarian world view, learn correctly to use standpoint, viewpoint, and method to investigate questions, research learning, and handle work and strive to serve the socialist modernizations. If the above mission is reasonable, then it should make the definition of the curriculum help complete the above mission.

In addition to this, we must also pay attention to the following situations:

First, the historical situation and its continuity. The current undergraduate Marxism-Leninism curriculum in schools of higher learning is: in the liberal arts, 4 courses (history of the Chinese Communist Party, political economy, philosophy and history of the international communist movement); in physics, 3 courses, engineering, agriculture and medicine, (history of the international communist movement is not offered). This arrangement is basically grounded on the three constituent elements of Marxism, and has gone on this way since the fifties. In October 1952 the Ministry of Education issued "Directive on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought Curriculum in Schools of Higher Learning Throughout the Country" which stipulated that all schools of higher learning were to offer a three-course curriculum in political theory to consist of theory of new democracy, political economy, and dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Later on, there were some changes in individual subjects, for example, they added the foundation of Marxism and gradually changed it to history of the international communist movement which became a course in the liberal arts; the theory of the new democracy changed into the history of China's revolution and then later was further changed to the history of the Chinese Communist Party; but the courses in philosophy and economics were retained to form the present curriculum. Thus, when considering a new curriculum we must note the historical role these courses have already played and that the faculty in political theory at schools of higher learning during these years was basically trained in accordance with the demand that they teach these courses. If the new curriculum will still be based on the three constituent elements of Marxism, then in the light of historical experience and the faculty the changes should not be significant.

Second, class time is limited. The proportion of total class time which it is appropriate to devote to Marxism-Leninism classes is a question which urgently needs to be clarified and we should summarize experience since the founding of the People's Republic of China and consult the experience of other countries. According to the existing stipulations of the Ministry of Education the 4 public political theory classes in the liberal arts take 420 class hours or 17.5 percent of total class hours; the 3 courses in physics, engineering, agriculture and medicine take 210 class hours, or about 8.8 percent of the total. To help the university students to master the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism (generally the content of the present materials) linking up with actuality, explaining the profound in simple terms and in a lively way within these class hours is very tight in terms of time and is even very difficult. The load carried by students now is very heavy. All curricula feel that there are not enough class hours and there

is much competition for class hours so that it will be difficult to increase the proportion of just Marxism-Leninism classes in the total class hours in the present discipline in the education schedule. If the several courses presently being offered are retained as required courses and other courses in political theory are to be added to them there will not be much free time in class hours.

Third, how to expand the university student's general knowledge. Some comrades think that in higher education in view of the general tendency abroad in recent years, toward interdisciplinary courses, that while maintaining the Marxism-Leninism courses, we should offer some other related courses. This proposal is worth considering. There are two questions which must be resolved in connection with this: one is making appropriate class hour arrangements; and the other is that in dealing with the relationship to the Marxism-Leninism courses we cannot usurp the content of the former nor make it a substitute for the Marxism-Leninism curriculum. Some comrades have proposed that schools offer advanced courses in time set aside on the basis of conditions.

Fourth, universities, middle schools and elementary schools should have an overall plan. The different characteristics of university, middle school and elementary school students place different demands on determining political theory classes appropriate to their different stages of intellectual development and interconnecting them should be considered.

On the basis of the above situation, generally speaking, the present arrangements of Marxism-Leninism class in schools of higher learning should only be reformed gradually and not suddenly. This gradual change means not departing from the original foundation and making just the necessary adjustment in some courses, placing the emphasis on improving course content and teaching method in an effort to improve teaching quality so that theory will be closely combined with actuality and to the extent possible answer the questions posed by students. If Marxism-Leninism class does not link up with actuality and avoids the questions with which students are generally concerned, they will lose interest in the course and it cannot play the role it should. Of course, this linking up can only be an organic one, according to the system and logic of each course. To achieve this end teaching outlines and materials should be revised according to the different disciplinary needs of the liberal arts and physics, engineering, agriculture and medicine by cutting out what is superfluous, emphasizing the key points and striving to reflect the new situations in political and economic development and the latest results in scientific research. At the same time, teacher training should be strengthened teaching experience should be summarized and exchanged and an effort made to raise the level of teaching. This looks like a minor change, but it may not upset the present work foundation and is generally suited to the theoretical attainments and teaching experience of the present faculty and will be readily received in all aspects.

If the above reforms can be implemented we should also continue investigation and research and with the reorganization and reform of all education comprehensively research the arrangement and linkage of the courses so that the

structure of education in political theory will be even more rational.

The reform of Marxism-Leninism class in schools of higher learning is far-reaching and of great concern to society. The reform should be considered maturely and done unhurriedly. After new proposals are set, it is best if leadership organs designate certain schools to carry out pilot projects in a planned way and then extend them after gaining some experience and avoid willfully changing the present courses and so that the teachers and students are at a loss as to what to do.

The reform of Marxism-Leninism classes should rely on the existing Marxism-Leninism course faculty, involve them in discussions more, give full play to their wisdom, experience and initiative, pooling their wisdom to make the reform of Marxism-Leninism class even more fully effective.

8226

CSO: 4005/1045

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### TASKS UNDERTAKEN TO CLEAN, BEAUTIFY HARBIN

Beijing [UNKNOWN] in Chinese 5 Aug 82 p 3

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have persisted in shaping the hygienic outlook of the city of Harbin and in bringing its unsanitary practices under control so that we can improve its hygiene year after year and gradually build Harbin into a civilized, clean and beautiful city. In the course of developing the "five stresses and four points of beauty" activity, we have made renewed efforts to bring such "unsanitary practices" under control. The result is new changes in the facade of the city.

First, it is necessary to clean up the streets and shape the outlook of the city. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our city has spent five winters and springs in a row pressing forward with the task of cleaning up the streets and reshaping the outlook of the city. At present, garbage can be basically cleaned up and carted away on a daily basis; unauthorized installations on 24 main streets have been completely dismantled and removed; some 669 capital construction sites have been consolidated as an initial step in the direction of reversing the chaotic trend of "making a shambles of an entire street as a result of the construction of a single building."

Second, vigorous efforts have been made to build latrines, relocate night soil storage sites, and eradicate flies at their breeding grounds. We have spent the past 4 years building, overhauling and remodeling 84 public latrines and 1,080 private latrines for residents. Efforts have been made to control the breeding and spawning of flies in more than 13,000 places. By last May, 60 percent of latrines were overhauled to meet the required standards, thus curtailing the breeding of flies. The five night soil storage sites in the city were supposed to be the most serious cause of pollution resulting in the increase in the number of flies. In an effort to solve this over 20-year-old "difficult" problem, we appropriated 1 million yuan in special assistance to the project designed to move these night soil storage sites (covering more than 81,000 square meters of land) out of the city, a project which was completed last May.

Third, the construction of roads and water drainage systems has been accelerated. From 1977 to 1981, the proportion of asphalt roads in the highway system increased by 202,444 square meters from 30.2 percent to 53.5 percent; the water drainage pipeline rose from 333 to 407 kilometers; well-paved roads within the city doubled, thus changing the phenomenon characterized by flying dust on the windy day and muddy roads on the rainy day.

Moreover, based on a specific survey of movie theaters, railway stations, bus stops, scenic spots along both sides of the Sungari River, wharves, grassland, and other public places, we have taken different measures to beautify their environment and bring their unsanitary practices under control. As a result, a noticeable improvement has been made in their sanitary appearance. Additional supervisory measures have been taken to inspect and examine how food is stored, processed, transported, and marketed and other features of food production. Cleanliness standards have been set for 19 major businesses including restaurants and food processors which they must observe without fail.

#### Leadership Must Translate Its Determination Into Action

In the course of studying and implementing the series of instructions on building a spiritual civilization issued by the party Central Committee, we have come to realize that doing a good job of cleaning up the city and improving its environmental sanitation will herald a breakthrough in the building of our spiritual civilization. It is part of a major policy for the development of socialist modern cities, a task of prime importance to the improvement of living and working conditions for the masses, and an important regular duty to be discharged by party and government organizations at various levels. Aware of this, we can act more consciously and pay greater attention to the efficiency of work. In the course of action, we must focus attention on the following four points:

First, responsibilities must be clearly defined and everything must be well planned and programmed. Each year, the municipal party committee and government are required to clearly define responsibilities and organize forces from all sectors of the economy to guarantee their implementation in an effort to improve the urban environmental sanitation. To this end, we have included a fundamental measure for sanitary improvements in the city's national economic plan, and have backed it up with a mobilization of necessary manpower, material and financial resources that can be used to help the city improve its sanitary outlook year after year. This year, in response to the demands of the "five stresses and four points of beauty" activity, we have ordered departments concerned with public health to conduct a conscientious investigation and study of problems concerning the improvement of sanitation in the city of Harbin, which has led us to identify major problems that still exist, and to work out a clearly defined and detailed plan for controlling the "unsanitary practices." Thanks to more than 6 months of efforts, this plan has been basically realized and has produced good results.

Second, decisions on major issues need to be made promptly. The standing committee of the municipal party committee and the conference of the office of the mayor have scheduled regular and special meetings to discuss patriotic health work. In the first half of this year, seven meetings were held to discuss this work, at each of which, decisions on problems of major concern were adopted and their solution was promptly sought (including problems concerning the removal of the night soil storage sites, the eviction of those units which occupied the Cultural Park without authorization, the development of the Sun Island scenery, and the garbage removal and cleanup). Members of the standing committee of the municipal party committee and deputy mayors of Harbin have made an active commitment to the implementation of the patriotic health work in conjunction with other assigned responsibilities.

Third, leading comrades must take the initiative to overcome difficulties. Leaders must get personally involved in seeking solution to some "long-standing difficult problems" that have remained unsolved for years, and must persist in doing so until they are effectively solved one after another. For example, not long ago, Comrade Wang Zhao [3768 6857], secretary of the provincial party committee, and second secretary of the municipal party committee, has found an initial answer to the long-unsettled problem caused by failure to control traffic aggravated by unsanitary practices in front of the Sanguoshu railway station, as soon as he moved his office there and worked out a solution in coordination with the concerned units. The Cultural Park scenic tourist site is a interest in our city. Since the beginning of 1965, its ecological environment has suffered damage after more than 500 enterprises continued to set up retail stores which totaled 81 at last count. This year, a decision has been adopted by the municipal government to order the occupying units to move out of the park not later than a seceduled date, and repeated efforts have been made to urge them to comply with this order through investigations. Following more than 2 months of efforts, the 81 retail stores have begun to move their merchandise in large quantities out of the park while 78 of them have begun to dismantle their structures. The remainder have promised to do the same in the near future.

Fourth, cadres must play a leading and exemplary role in this field. Since the beginning of this year, leading comrades at central and provincial levels have taken the lead in carrying out the health and clean-up activities, and leadin cadres in our city have followed suit by taking an active part in such activities. Comrade Li Lian [2621 0500 1344], second secretary of the provincial party committee and first secretary of the municipal party committee, who arrived in Harbin to assume his new positions not long ago, has braved frigid weather to join the cleaning workers in carting garbage away from the downtown. Two of these workers have since become his friends. During the spring festival, he invited them to his home to be his houseguests. Upon hearing him praise them as the "master beauticians of the urban environment," the two cleaning workers said cheerfully: "We welcom another new worker who joins us!" By taking the lead in doing work solidly, leading cadres have inspired cadres at all levels and the masses to accelerate the development of the urban patriotic health work.

## The Masses Must Be Relied Upon To Promote the Health Work

For years, we have carried forward the tradition of fully mobilizing the masses to promote the patriotic health movement. In this connection, we have focused attention on promoting the following tasks:

First, we must give full play to the role of party and CYL organizations at all levels and mass organizations in this direction. We have focused attention on guiding CYL members to build a spiritual civilization and foster communist morality in conjunction with their practical action to control unsanitary practices and to bring order out of chaos, and on making them models in promoting clean habits and health work. So far, CYL organizations at all levels throughout the city have carried out more than 8,800 hygienic clean-up activities in which a total of 2.5 million persons participated, and built more than 5,200 youth-supervised modern public health service stations. The municipal trade union has cooperated with concerned departments in developing a campaign to evaluate performances by cleaning workers and advanced convoys in connection with the street health propaganda campaign organized by various health departments and carried out by more than 10,000 medical workers. Such activities have proved instrumental in stimulating the enthusiasm of the broad masses for promoting the patriotic health campaign.

Second, in every different season, hygiene activities are carried out on a crash basis. In light of the weather condition in our city, four citywide clean-up activities are undertaken on a crash basis a year. Before "1 May," the campaign is mainly to remove snow and garbage accumulated during winter until they are completely carted away from the downtown. When the weather becomes warmer that usually comes after "1 May," the campaign focuses on promoting indoor and outdoor cleaning efforts, planting trees, cultivating flowers, covering the environment with green grass and beautifying the city. When the summer comes, we concentrate our efforts on eliminating flies, and promoting the sanitary handling of food. Before the end of the year, indoor and outdoor clean-up activities are repeated in order to greet the arrival of the new year and spring festival with clean environs. Following years of adherence to this approach to the development of the health work on a crash basis in four different seasons has proved effective in concentrating forces on solving prominent health hazard problems faced by the city; it is a good method well-timed to meet the needs of the people and designed for the masses to promote the health work.

Third, the development of the hygienic emulation, examination and evaluation campaign must take diverse forms. Based on the actual circumstances, people in "two vast areas" (meaning borders between seven different administrative districts and between different suburban districts) and workers on five fronts (namely, industrial and communications, financial and trade, urban construction, cultural and educational, and agricultural fronts) have been organized to compete for the honor of Mobile Red Flag in the name of public health. This citywide health evaluation and examination campaign is launched twice a year, and its results will subsequently be made known to the public through newspapers and radio stations along with points scored by various



contestants. Those units with excellent performances on the health front would receive Mobile Red Flags, those with poor performances would be publicly criticized, and requested to improve themselves before the expiration of an officially scheduled date, and those with serious problems would be fined. At year's end, health work will be summed up and awards will be presented. Since the beginning of last year, the masses have been organized to vote for what they considered the "most health-conscious neighborhood" and the "best movie theater." Besides, we have joined Shenyang and Changchun in mounting friendship campaigns for the three sister cities to emulate one after another on health work. During the past 4 years, some 260 Red Glaf winners and advanced health units have been selected and made known along with 3 advanced departments and 2 advanced districts. We have also joined 12 cities in the province in evaluating health work in a competitive spirit. As a result of this evaluation and emulation activity, advanced units have continued to come to the fore, many backward units have changed their health outlook one after another, and various other units have extensively raised their hygienic levels.

#### "Four Initiatives and One Cooperation" Activity Proves Effective in Spurring the Development of the Fundamental Health Program

In the course of developing the massive health clean-up work, we have stepped up the development of the long-term urban health work in accordance with the principle of "controlling health hazard practices both on a long-term and crash basis while giving prior consideration to projects designed to solve health hazard problems once and for all." A decision has also been made by the government to appropriate funds for the purpose of building the water drainage systems, roads and latrines every year. To overcome difficulties in raising enough funds for this purpose, we have mobilized various social forces, and counted on the support of various units in terms of financial and material resources and manpower and countless other means to promote the development of the health program designed to solve the problem once and for all, in accordance with the provincial party committee's instruction on "four initiatives and one cooperation" (calling on every unit to sweep and remove snow, plant trees, build water drainage systems, and rebuild roads in its area, and all others which benefit from this approach to raise funds for this purpose).

First, financially sound units have been mobilized to rely on their own efforts to promote the development of the health work in their environs and family residential zones. The northeast light alloy processing plant has spent the past several years planting and growing more than 80,000 trees, covering more than 120,000 square meters of land with green grass, building nurseries, covering more than 2,000 square meters of land with flowers, rebuilding old roads and paving new ones through more than 70,000 square meters of land, and converting nearly 6 hectares of land into 2 plant nursery plots. It has scored initial success in building the "Dongqing Park" which consists of fountains and ponds, artificial mountains, and seating for tourists.



Second, units which have benefited from the public health program have been organized to raise funds as part of a joint effort to finance the construction of facilities designed to solve the health problem once and for all. There are some long-term health promotion projects which urgently need to be built but are still beyond the government's financial ability to do so. To seek a prompt answer to this problem, we have worked out a strategy calling for a joint effort by concerned units to raise funds coupled with appropriate financial assistance extended by the government. By following this approach, we have solved a number of "long-standing difficult problems." In 1981, roads totaling more than 200,000 square meters of land, 27 kilometers of the water drainage pipeline, and some 5,000 meters of pipeline carrying drinking water were built with funds raised by our city in this way. In the past, the roads under the jurisdiction of the Dazhai administrative office of the Taiping District were unpaved, and the water drainage systems were unavailable. The masses there had difficulty in obtaining drinking water, in finding outlets for contaminated water, in building paved roads and latrines. During the past several years, some 20 sewage drainage systems have been laid, 21 asphalt roads have been built or repaired, 236 iron pellet-filled roads have been laid, 54 latrines have been overhauled, and pipeline has been installed to bring water to more than 500 homes. Now it can be said that the problem caused by the "four difficulties" has been solved.

Practice proves that the realization of the "four initiatives and one cooperation" reflects a strong desire of the people throughout the city to improve hygiene and clean-up with the self-reliant spirit. This means that only by mobilizing all positive factors and all available social forces in a way that takes into account actual local conditions can we speed up the development of projects designed to solve the urban health problem once and for all.

9574

CSO: 8111/1716

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### PRESENT STATE OF SCHOOLS OF HIGHER LEARNING DISCUSSED

Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 5, 20 May 82 p 24

[Article: "The Present State of Higher Learning Institutes in Our Country"]

[Text] The institutes of higher learning are the main bases for fostering talented persons. Our institutes of higher learning have gained a great development in recent years.

Our country had 704 institutes of higher learning in 1981. Among them 518 were universities and colleges and 186 were training schools, an increase of 270 over 1965 and an increase of 29 over 1980. Of the institutes of higher learning, 32 were universities, 207 industrial colleges, 55 agricultural colleges, 10 forestry colleges, 112 medical colleges, 186 teachers' colleges, 10 language colleges, 36 financial and economic colleges, 7 political science and law colleges, 12 physical culture colleges, 27 art colleges, and 10 colleges for nationalities.

In the same year, the number of students attending regular and special courses at institutes of higher learning totaled 1,279,500, an increase of 89.7 percent or 135,800 over 1980. Of these students, those attending regular courses accounted for 82.9 percent, numbering more than 1.06 million; those attending special courses accounted for 17.1 percent, numbering more than 218,000. Nationwide, the number of college students averaged 12 per 10,000 people, a 1.4 percent increase over 1980. The proportion of college students to the national population was too small.

In the same year, the number of teaching and administrative personnel at institutes of higher learning was 666,300 nationwide, an increase of 100 percent, numbering 333,700, over 1965 and an increase of 5.4 percent, numbering 34,400, over 1980. Among them, there were 249,900 full-time teachers, accounting for 37.5 percent of total number of teaching and administrative personnel and representing an increase of 80.9 percent, numbering 111,800, over 1965, or an increase of 1.2 percent, numbering 3,000, over 1980.

Of the full-time teachers at institutes of higher learning, 4,200 were professors, accounting for 1.7 percent of total, and 19,700 were associate professors, accounting for 7.9 percent, 118,300 were lecturers, accounting for 47.3 percent of total, 46,300 were teachers or 18.5 percent of total, 61,400

were assistants of faculty or 24.6 percent of total. The composition of the contingents of teachers was not rational enough, the number of professors and associate professors being too small.

Among the contingents of teaching and administrative staff at institutes of higher learning, auxiliary teaching staff accounted for 8.3 percent, numbering 55,200, administrative personnel 16.3 percent, numbering 108,700; personnel doing regular odd jobs accounted for 19.7 percent, numbering 131,000; the number of scientific research personnel accounted for 2.5 percent, numbering 16,800; the staff of school factories and farms accounted for 9.8 percent, numbering 65,600; the number of personnel of other subsidiary sections accounted for 5.9 percent, numbering 39,100. The number of nonteaching personnel is too large, while the number of scientific research personnel is too small.

The above-mentioned facts tell us that our country's institutes of higher learning have grown to a definite size but are still quite incompatible with the position and needs of our large country of 1 billion people.

9780

CSO: 4005/1036

## MAO ZEDONG'S CONSTITUTION THOUGHT REVIEWED

Hong Kong MING PAO YUE KAN [MING PAO MONTHLY] in Chinese No 5, 1982  
pp 69-71

[Article by Jin Sikai [6855 1835 1956]: "Mao Zedong's Constitution Thought"]

[Text] Since the anti-rightist campaign of 1957, people have thought that there was no constitution in Mao Zedong Thought. Actually, Mao Zedong gave an earnest speech "On the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China" at the 30th Session of the People's Central Government Committee on 14 June 1954 and on 15 September 1954 in the opening speech at the 1st Session of the National People's Congress he emphasized that drafting a constitution was the important task of that session. So why did he later disregard the constitution? To explain this contradictory behavior, it is necessary to clarify Mao Zedong's thoughts on a constitution. Although his constitution thought has a few errors which do not conform to actual circumstances, it has its consistent logic.

Mao Zedong's constitution thought is grounded in dialectical and historical materialism and recognizes that a constitution has its class nature and can grow; thus the important structural part of his constitution--freedom and democracy--also embodies the spirit of this philosophy.

### I. Philosophical Foundations

Dialectical materialism holds that inherent in anything is a contradictory struggle which propels the motion development of the thing according to its natural laws; people understand this natural law and take and apply it; whether this understanding is correct or not must be tested in practice. Thus, also it is with human society. The struggle of class contradictions propels society's developmental laws and its motion development and people understand that the laws of social development, carry out class struggle and do their utmost for the communist revolution which develops from this. This law of social development develops from primitive communal society, slaveowning society, feudal society, and capitalist society towards socialist society and communist society.

Societies are different, which is to say, their ownership of the basic means of production is different. Apart from the basic means, there is also the ownership of the non-basic means of production. For example, in pre-1949 China mainland, feudal ownership of the means of production was the basic one, but in addition there were slaveowning and capitalist ownership of the means of production. The composite of these kinds of ownership of the means of production was called the economic base and on top of the economic base there was a superstructure; which reflected the economic base and at the same time played a role in strengthening the economic base.

The superstructure is the political and legal system and the social ideology which corresponds to it. The constitution is fundamental law and it is a structural part of the superstructure. In Mao Zedong's view, "law is the ideology of the nation which the ruling class publicly implements with armed coercion. The law, like the state (machinery) is a tool to guarantee certain interests of the ruling class." The constitution is naturally a tool of the ruling class, too, and has a class nature.

The dialectical method stresses the motion development of things and the constitution which reflects the economic base is also motion developed. Of course, Western law is also constantly revised, but the motion development of a Marxist constitution indicates that the constitution changes and develops on the basis of the laws of social development. The Chinese Communist Party carried out the revolution in accordance with the laws of social development advancing from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. In the period of the new democratic revolution, it was natural to deny the constitution of the national government and after the victory of the new democratic revolution a constitution was drafted which conformed to the economic base of new democracy, i.e., the constitution passed in September 1954. We said above that Mao Zedong was in earnest about this constitution, but after the announcement in 1956 that the socialist transformation was basically completed, it was necessary to reformulate the constitution which was suited to the economic base of new democracy. In 1967 Mao Zedong said, "All corrupt ideology and other unsuitable parts of the superstructure are crumbling day by day." The "other unsuitable parts of the superstructure" included the September 1954 constitution.

In January 1975 the Chinese Communist Party rewrote a constitution suited to the socialist economic base. In his Report of the Revision of the Constitution, Zhang Chunqiao said "Since 1954 China's politics, economy culture and international relations have undergone great changes. Its content is no longer applicable today. To summarize our new experience, to strengthen our new victory, to reflect our people's common wish to uphold continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the important task of this revision of the constitution."

From this it is clear that the distinguishing feature of Mao Zedong's constitution thought, from a philosophical level, is its class nature and ability to grow; these two features are also embodied in the important structural parts of the constitution--freedom and democracy.

## II. Freedom and Democracy

Mao Zedong's knowledge is based on the recognition by dialectical materialism that freedom is the necessary development of the natural law of things and his practice is based on this. In "Anti-Duhring," Engels held, on the basis of Hegel's argument that "Freedom is understanding necessity. Necessity is only reckless when it is not understood. Freedom is not made independent apart from natural laws in the imagination but in understanding these laws it is possible to make natural laws serve a certain goal in a planned way." Mao Zedong criticized this argument: "Engels said we go from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom, that freedom is understanding necessity. But this is not complete, he said only half and did not go on, only by understanding can there be freedom? Freedom is the understanding of necessity and the transformation of necessity. There is also work...before there can be freedom...only if the understanding of necessity is wrong should there be transformation."

Applying the above concept of freedom to society, then freedom is the understanding of the necessary development of the laws of social development and revolutionary practice on this basis; if one does not understand the necessary development of the laws of social development and tries to obstruct them, then that is counterrevolution and there is no freedom. Therefore, the Chinese Communist Party's constitution provides for various articles of freedom to the extent possible, but there are still many villains who must be controlled and reformed through labor.

From this it can be seen that people who have freedom have democracy; counterrevolution has no freedom and is an enemy to which we dictate. That is, "Implement democracy among the people, implement dictatorship toward the enemies of the people; these two are inseparable. Combining the two is the dictatorship of the proletariat or people's democratic dictatorship."

This democratic dictatorship not only has its class nature, but it also has the ability to develop. This can be seen from the people component. Mao Zedong said "What is the people and what is the enemy? The concept of people has different meanings in different countries and in different historical periods in countries. In terms of China's situation, during the anti-Japanese war all anti-Japanese classes, strata, and social organizations were part of the people and Japanese imperialism, traitors, and appeasers were enemies of the people. During the period of the liberation war American imperialism and its running dogs, i.e., bureaucratic capitalists, the landlord class, and the KMT reactionaries who represented these classes were enemies of the people; all classes, strata and social organizations who opposed these enemies were part of the people. At the present stage, the period of building socialism, all classes, strata, and social organizations which approve of, support and participate in socialist construction are part of the people; all social forces and social organizations which oppose the socialist revolution and are hostile to and damage socialist construction are enemies of the people."

From the developmental nature of the definition of the people and the enemy one can see that the people in one period can become the enemy in the next stage. For example, the national bourgeoisie of the anti-Japanese war period were the people and if during the period of the war of liberation the capitalists in the national bourgeoisie supported the KMT reactionaries they became enemies. Or again, a capitalist in the period of the war of liberation was among the people, but by the period of socialist transformation he became an object of revolution. Although the CCP carried out the socialist transformation by peaceful methods of redemption, the above passages from Mao Zedong did not mention the people and enemies of this period, but in the situation of theory and practice the object of revolution in this period was the national bourgeoisie.

There are many forms of ownership of the means of production in the advance from socialism to communism, for example, agricultural cooperatives are socialist and people's communes are also socialist. Peng Dehuai supported agricultural cooperatives, but said that people's communes "were done early" so this was called "right opportunism," later changed to "Chinese revisionism." Thus, although in his talk On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People Mao Zedong considered taking mainly the socialist road "the standard for distinguishing fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds," in "On New Democracy" he also said "people's government is one which guards the people" and these views were completely destroyed by practice of class nature and the ability to grow.

The target of revolution in the great Cultural Revolution was the "person in authority taking the capitalist road" and this is based on the ability to grow. Mao Zedong said, "During the democratic revolution these people actively participated in opposing the three great mountains, but after the country was liberated they did not approve as much of opposing the bourgeoisie; they actively approved and participated when overthrowing local tyrants and distributing the land, but after the country was liberated they did not approve as much when implementing collectivization in agriculture. He (they) did not take the socialist road, he (they) are now in power again, so can't we call [him (them)] the person(s) in authority taking the capitalist road?"

Quite clearly Mao Zedong used this development of freedom and democracy to force people to support his view of continuing revolution. Thus he also said, "This thing, democracy, sometimes seems to be the goal, but actually it is only a technique. Marxism tells us that democracy belongs to the super-structure, to the scope of politics. That is to say, in the final analysis, it serves the economic base and freedom is also like this." "Using a fundamental law form like the constitution to strengthen people's democracy and socialist principles gives the people a clear track and makes the people feel there is a clear, distinct and correct path to follow, so it can raise the initiative of all the people."

This view of freedom and democracy is a basic structural part of Mao Zedong constitution thought.

### III. Places Which Can Be Debated

Seen from the perspective of the above two sections, from philosophy to theory and its implementation, Mao Zedong's constitution thought has a strict logic, and seems to be unassailable, but in actuality this is not entirely so. Because dialectical materialism and historical materialism do not just rely on logic, what is more important is matter, i.e., it is necessary to combine it with China's actuality.

The goal of the new democratic revolution led by Mao Zedong was to oppose the three great mountains of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism, most importantly feudalism. In Western European antifeudalism not only destroyed the feudal economic base, but also strengthened man's right to change the feudal system which centered on personal dependence and at the same time restricted the rulers which the theory of contract which developed into the capitalist constitution on the basis of this. Marx's study of capitalist society stresses overthrowing the bourgeoisie by class struggle and pushing society toward socialism and communism. But the Communist Party opposed Russian and Chinese feudalism with Marxism, and after seizing power jumped over capitalism, recognizing that they could push on toward communism through socialist construction. In this way, the scorned capitalist human rights and denied the theory of contracts, and let the feudal system which centered on human dependence subtly shift to a society ruled by the Communist Party.

Mao Zedong said, "What are 'inherent human rights'? Are not they 'human granted' 'human rights.'" "Our rights are granted by the common people, first of all by the working class and the poor lower and middle class peasants." Thus in his constitution thought there is no contractual concept of protecting "human rights," and he also emphasizes "the state machinery of the army, police and courts are tools for class to oppress class. For the class opposed they are instruments of oppression, and its violence is not something which is in any way 'benevolent.'"

This dictatorship which scorns human rights and denies the theory of contracts in reality carries on the feudal system which is centered on human dependence; as for the constitution of the People's Republic of China which embodies Mao Zedong's constitution thought, it is only an overcoat decorated with modern class colors.

Let me ask, if, on the basis of the above described situation and combined with actuality, human rights thinking and contract theory were put into the constitution, wouldn't this run counter to dialectical materialism and historical materialism? Actually, this is not so, because through class struggle, the Chinese Communist Party made China go from a feudal society to a new democratic society and probably after 4 years will go from socialist transformation to a socialist society. But in view of the above, it still contains a little of the feudal system, so the mission of the new democratic revolution to oppose feudalism is not yet complete. At the same time, the rural areas are now changing to a production responsibility system which transfers the production guarantees to the household and it is said that the



people's communes might also be eliminated; factories are implementing economic responsibility systems. The new government is emphasizing responsibility which means that socialism makes people irresponsible, and the new democratic transition to socialism has been too fast. European capitalism has been in existence for at least 300 years and still has not entered the socialist stage, so why should China's new democracy take only 4 years?

From feudal society to new democratic society and then from new democratic society on to socialist society has all been through the struggle of class contradiction. According to the dialectical method, the process of struggle of class contradiction should go from gradual quantitative change to sharp qualitative change. China's feudal society has existed for 2,000 years and these 2,000 years have all been in quantitative change, but the qualitative changes were only in the last few decades. New democratic society can change into socialist society, so why is there no quantitative change? It seems that Mao Zedong closely followed Lenin's view that the stage of socialism could be reached without going through the capitalist stage, and views the quantitative change of new democratic society as qualitative change. To use a colloquialism, new democratic society still has a long way to go, the transition to socialist society discussed in the previous section is a development forced by subjective purpose divorced from objective reality and runs counter to materialism. As for including human rights and the spirit of contract theory in the constitution to oppose the feudal system which exists in actuality thus conforms to dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

A RENMIN RIBAO editorial on 1 October of last year emphasized, "We should think of questions our forerunners did not dare to think and dare to do things our forerunners did not dare to do." Now is an excellent time to make good on that!

8226

CSO: 4005/984

JOURNAL ON HONG KONG EDITOR'S DISAPPEARANCE IN PRC

HK030400 Hong Kong CHISHIH NIENTAI in Chinese No 152, Sep 82 pp 56-58

[Special contribution by Shih Hua [2457 5478]: "The Person Lo Fu and His Disappearance"]

[Excerpts] Lo Fu, also known as Luo Chengxun, was a deputy editor-in-chief and editor-in-chief, respectively, of TA KUNG PAO and HSIN WAN PAO, both well-known leftist papers in Hong Kong. He was a member of the CPPCC and the Hong Kong representative of the National Writers' Congress. He had been a resident of Hong Kong for 30 years. He was a well-known figure among Hong Kong leftists. In Hong Kong, he mixed with both leftists and rightists in journalistic and literary and art circles. Many people in literary and art circles on the mainland of China and abroad also had contacts with him.

Something Wrong Confirmed in Mid-July

In early May this year, Lo Fu and his family were traveling in Guangzhou. Lo was suddenly told to leave alone for Beijing. It turned out that he never returned. No news was heard about him. By the end of May, his wife Wu Xiusheng (who was an editor of a WEN WEI PO supplement) had received only a slip of paper from him bearing the words: "I am all right. Please don't worry!" The newspaper for its part had all along heard nothing from him. This was uncharacteristic of Lo Fu. In ordinary times, no matter whether he was traveling or attending a conference, he always kept in contact with Hong Kong calling long distance, sending letters or contributing articles. His wife, his colleagues and some of his friends inquired of the responsible persons of the XINHUA News Agency. The reply was always: "He would return soon!" In mid-June, the bi-monthly PAI HSING of Hong Kong first reported that he had disappeared and that something might have happened to him. Some people inquired of the Chinese communist officials in Hong Kong. The answer was that he would return before 1 July. But after 1 July, still nothing was heard from him. By the middle of July, the story leaked out from the staff of TA KUNG PAO who were in the know that Lo Fu was detained in the interior on charges of "violating party discipline and state laws" and would not return to Hong Kong. It was also pointed out that his problem had "nothing to do with newspaper editing" and "nothing to do with his making friends with the Chinese." Meanwhile the administration office of TA KUNG PAO and the editorial office of HSIN WAN PAO held a meeting. Apart from charging Lo Fu with serious political mistakes, the meeting attacked Lo's work style, and so forth. A person sur-named Li was named the acting editor-in-chief.

After the news broke, some columnists in Hong Kong, such as Miao Yu, Hu Chujen and Tai Tien, continued writing articles commenting on the subject. These articles were published in non-leftist newspapers. They mostly praised Lo Fu's moral conduct, his writings and his cultural training. Some also exposed certain secrets about this incident. According to Miao Yu, Lo Fu was charged with "illegal activities," because he discussed with a foreigner his collection of three well-known paintings drawn by Huang Binhong. This foreigner was considered someone connected to a foreign intelligence organ. Actually, Lo Fu was being denounced and attacked by factionists in the country. Another article revealed that Lo was being dealt with as a spy and had been "relieved of his party membership." Since he was a veteran party member, he of course knew much about the party's secrets. Expelled from the party, he of course was not allowed to return to Hong Kong.

On the other hand, based on what was leaked by TA KUNG PAO, some people have summed up (or guessed) the concrete details of the story: Lo Fu got into trouble because he was found out by the Chinese communists to have made a certain "deal with the people of a U.S. intelligence department."

It was learned that Lo Fu had been in contact with certain people at the American Consulate General. He was also invited by the USIS to visit the United States between May and June this year. But these activities were open secrets. His intended trip to the United States was definitely approved by the Hong Kong branch of the XINHUA News Agency. Therefore, if anything was wrong, it should not be related to these social activities.

During this period, many rumors circulated in leftist news circles and among Lo Fu's friends. One of the rumors was that a foreigner had bought Lo Fu's collection of paintings, paying a price higher than their actual market value. In his contact with this person, Lo Fu talked much about what should be "kept secret" according to the Chinese communist rule of discipline. Another rumor was that in recent years, Lo Fu had bought housing in Britain and also a villa in Hong Kong. His sons and daughters were also sent to study abroad. How could he afford the high tuition fees in Britain and the United States? However, some people said that the rumor about his having bought housing had not been confirmed. He did have a villa in Clearwater Bay where he often entertained his friends. But that was owned by his daughter-in-law's relatives. Still another rumor was that the trouble with him basically had nothing to do with "economic crimes." As a veteran Communist Party member with several decades' work experience in Hong Kong, he knew well what could or could not be done. His case was chiefly one where "the gods fight so that the mortals are involved." The "gods" refer to cadres at the central level. Where there is struggle at the central level, those "mortals" (actually already not "mortals") close to the "gods" are often made the scapegoats. According to such logic, when the dust has settled down in the upper-level struggle, it seems that Lo Fu may still return to work in Hong Kong, unscathed. However, such an assertion actually is not made on any sound basis. What is most credible is the revelation by the newspaper about "having nothing to do with his making friends with the Chinese." This actually means that he "ran afoul of party discipline and state laws" in his socializing with foreigners.

Lo Fu's wife Wu Xiusheng has not worked at WEN WEI PAO since early July. Later, she requested that she be allowed to go to the interior to see Lo Fu. The party concerned at first agreed to make arrangements for her trip but later again advised her to temporarily give up the idea. In early August, she was told that the trip was entirely her own affair, and she could decide herself whether to go or not. This meant that the relevant Chinese communists stationed in Hong Kong would no longer hold themselves responsible for this matter, or that the matter had exceeded the province of authority, as far as those people in Hong Kong were concerned.

No official announcement may ever be made about Lo Fu's case. It is feared that he will never see his friends in Hong Kong again. However, this matter has cast dark shadows on the Chinese communists' work abroad. 1) As a veteran intellectual admitted to the Chinese Communist Party, Lo Fu showed unswerving loyalty to the Chinese communists--loyalty that had never been doubted by the Chinese communists leaders here, by his colleagues at the newspaper office or even his friends outside. Some people were dissatisfied with him just because he was overdoing it in "following the party," or because of his work style. Many people would hardly believe it that he would be the type of person to become a turncoat. 2) In the Chinese Communist Party, Lo Fu was not doing secret work. Instead, he worked openly and was a public figure. He was well known, especially in journalistic and cultural circles. His actual social standing was quite high. If he is now gone forever, with nothing heard about him, people in leftist organs will inevitably feel greatly discouraged. Intellectuals abroad would also have more doubts about the Chinese communists. It is feared that little could be done in a short period of time to make up for the dent made in the confidence of the part of people in leftist organs, and the damage done to the Chinese communists' image, as far as outsiders are concerned. 3) Lo Fu was undoubtedly the mainstay of the Chinese communists' united front work concerning intellectuals in Hong Kong. After this incident, it will be very difficult to keep in touch with some of the original targets of united front work in the future (many of them having only personal friendship with Lo Fu). Also, as far as future work is concerned, it would be difficult to find in a short period of time a person as skilled in handling intellectuals as Lo Fu.

Therefore, it suddenly occurs to the writer that if Lo Fu had really sold information, then it must be the one "buying information" who reported the matter to the Chinese communists. This is because it is inconceivable that a person like Lo Fu would know any state secrets from high circles. Moreover, such counter espionage has exactly served to deal a heavy blow to the Chinese communists' united front work abroad.

The only way for the Chinese communists to dispell the dark shadow over this matter it to, as quickly as possible, make public the truth. Moreover, the best of all solutions is to give Lo Fu a fair and open trial in accordance with the principle "everyone is equal before the law."

CSO: 4005/1292

CHENG MING'S VERSION OF 'HSIN WAN PAO' HIJACK REPORT

HK021333 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 59, 1 Sep 82 pp 16-17

[Report by Lo Bing [5012 0393]: "Inside Story on 'HSIN WAN PAO'S report on the Second Hijack"]

[Text] The "Hijack Shock" of HSIN WAN PAO

"...Recently, disturbances have repeatedly arisen from the local HSIN WAN PAO. First, it was shocked by the Lo Fu incident; then, came the hijack shock.

I expect you have heard quite a lot about the Lo Fu incident. Some of the Hong Kong newspapers said he was involved in leaking secrets abroad; while others said he had committed economic crimes; still others said that this case was of both a political and economic nature. Though reports varied, details of this case have become clearer and clearer. I seldom contacted Lo Fu, but we were on good terms, because he was a benign person who impressed me favorably. How could I expect him to meet with such a tragic lot! It was said that his pay had been suspended and that he would not come back to Hong Kong within the foreseeable future. This incident has shocked not only HSIN WAN PAO but also the entire Hong Kong journalistic circle.

On 30 July, HSIN WAN PAO published the following exclusive report: "This paper received a piece of information this morning: At 9 a.m., a chartered "Viscount" airplane for tourists, from Shanghai to Beijing was hijacked by scoundrels when it flew over Wuxi. After a fight, the scoundrels were overpowered. Another hijack scheme was thus smashed. The plane touched down at Nanjing airport at 11:51 a.m." This report, immediately after the previous one on 25 July that a plane from Xian to Shanghai was hijacked, created a furor, because HSIN WAN PAO was told exclusively through a trunk call. But on the same day, this report was denied by the Beijing authorities who said that no hijack incident had happened on the air route from Shanghai to Beijing. That was the first time that a report by a communist paper was denied by the communist authorities. The bourgeois news point was to blame for causing this trouble. The paper thus got another shock. However, it did not publish a correction announcement. This made people suspect that the incident had really occurred. Can you find out the truth of this mystery and clarify the background of this report?...

This letter from Hong Kong posed a difficult question for me. Of course, as a reporter, I am ready to accept this or that challenge.

Since the report said that it was a tourist chartered plane which belonged to the civil aviation system, I went to make inquiries in the civil aviation bureaus both in Shanghai and in Beijing. But both bureaus said that no incident had happened on the line between them. After busily running about for 2 days and trying to clear up this case through several different channels, I still got no results. On the third day, I happened to meet a friend who worked in a foreign relations department. He told me that he would be going abroad the next day. When we chatted about some foreign affairs, he disclosed some information about the hijack on the air line from Shanghai to Beijing. The truth of this case was thus found out by chance after a hard journey.

The story goes like this:

In late July, a Ugandan military delegation led by Major General Tito Okello, the commander of the Ugandan National Liberation Army, came to visit China. On 26 July, Geng Biao met this delegation in Beijing and Yang Dezhi gave a banquet in honor of this delegation that evening. On 29 July, the delegation attended a banquet held by Wang Jingkun, the commander of the Shanghai PLA garrison. On 30 July, the delegation left Shanghai. On 31 July, General Okello attended a reception held in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing to celebrate the anniversary of the founding of the PLA. In this period, the Uganda delegation flew to and fro between Beijing and Shanghai on a military plane, not a civil plane. In order to guarantee their security, when the military plane flew from Beijing to Shanghai, the Chinese military authorities sent ahead of the security section and another security guard to escort the delegation on the same plane. It was on this very military plane that the hijack incident happened.

Who Was the Hijacker?

Who was the hijacker?

He was none other than that security guard.

At that time, the plane was flying above Jiangsu Province. The security guard abruptly burst into the cockpit and pointed a gun at the pilot's head: "Don't move, listen to my order!..."

"Don't make jokes," the pilot said.

"This is no joke. I'll shoot you if you don't obey my order."

At this moment, the pilot was aware that this guy really meant what he said. Cool-headed and unruffled, the pilot pretended to obey; then, by catching the hijacker off guard, he suddenly knocked down the hijacker's gun with his right hand and picked up a hammer with his left hand. With a heavy blow, he killed the security guard. The whole event just took several seconds.

After that, the pilot sent one of his crew to inform the security head who was in the passenger cabin and asked this cadre to keep quiet and not to disturb the Ugandan military delegation.

Therefore, the delegation felt relaxed all the way. They knew nothing of the incident in the cockpit.

I asked my friend why, since an incident did happen on the plane, the authorities still denied the report of the Hong Kong newspaper?

The friend said, the Hong Kong paper reported that the incident occurred in a civil plane--"a tourist chartered plane," which was not true. On the other hand, it is hard to say that the security guard intended to hijack the plane only based on his words--"Listen to my order...." Maybe he had other motives, say, taking revenge for something. The case is now under investigation. Furthermore, there were some other inconsistencies in the report by the Hong Kong paper.

#### There Was Indeed an Incident on a Plane

I think, thus far, readers can feel they know the truth initially. First, there was indeed an incident on a plane--a military plane carrying foreign guests. Second, it was very likely that the incident was a hijack, but that is not completely certain. Third, the authorities just denied a hijack on a tourist chartered plane as reported by the Hong Kong paper but did not deny the incident happened on a military plane. Fourth, HSIN WAN PAO did not make a completely groundless report, so it cannot be blamed for starting a rumor. The only problem is that the report was not too precise. As for whether a communist newspaper should try to be the first to issue this kind of report, that is quite another matter.

A series of incidents have occurred on airlines; this, of course, is not a good thing. But, since things have come out and have gradually become known by people, it would be better to make the truth known to the public, so as to show that Chinese air crews are able to smash hijack attempts and tackle other incidents. Is that not very meaningful? It is believed that this was the reason why the editors of HSIN WAN PAO published this exclusive report. In fact, there is no cause for much criticism. Recently, Beijing's newspapers published some articles like the one entitled "Aircraft Hijacking Can Never Succeed in China." It seems that propaganda of this kind is not superfluous, because the news reports by themselves can act as a deterrent.

#### How Were the Five Hijackers Able To Buy Air Tickets?

Of course, negligence cannot be absolutely avoided even when all preventive measures have been taken, for nothing in the world is absolute. For example, two major acts of negligence can be found in the hijack incident of 25 July: First, how were the hijackers able to bring weapons (including knives and explosives) onto the plane? Second, why were they able to buy tickets on the same plane together? There is such a regulation in China that letters of introduction from their unit are needed when people want to buy air tickets.



Then, how did those five hijackers get their letters of introduction? (Three of them were workers in an instrument and meter plant, the fourth was a youth waiting for employment and the fifth was a dismissed young worker.)

Some people guessed that they were children of high-ranking cadres. That is not true. It was absolutely because of the negligence of a cadre, who is a middle-aged woman of unsound mental condition, in the security section of the instrument and meter plant that the hijackers were able to get their letters of introduction. One of the would-be hijackers who worked in this plant asked the lady to give him a letter of introduction. But the woman cadre gave him quite a few sheets of blank letter paper with official seals on them. Thus, the five people, after putting their names respectively on these letters, conveniently and smoothly bought their tickets in the booking office of the Xian Civil Aviation Bureau.

Besides their deterrent role, making hijack incidents public can also arouse the attention and vigilance from the quarters concerned. To cope with hijack plots, stress should be laid on preventive measures at every stage. Wrestling on planes is very dangerous and is a last resort. Never place all hopes on this final blow!

CSO: 4005/1292

END